Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-93-236 *10 December 1993*

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Bosnia Talks Postponed; 'Time Not Ripe'

AU0912174293 Paris AFP in English 1717 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Geneva, Dec 9 (AFP)—International mediators have postponed new peace talks on the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina, proposed by Greece and due to have opened this weekend, UN spokesman John Mills said Thursday [9 December]. Mills said the postponement was due to lack of progress thus far.

European diplomatic sources said mediators Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg hoped to obtain guarantees Thursday from Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that Bosnian Serbs would make further territorial concessions for a future Moslem mini-state in Bosnia. However the mediators had decided after talks with Serb leaders in Belgrade that the time was not ripe for further talks between the three warring factions, Mills told AFP.

"After their talks in Belgrade today, the co-chairmen think the time is not quite ready," said Mills. But, he added: "They hope to be in a position to have such a meeting in the week beginning on December 20."

Earlier diplomatic sources here and in Athens had said preparations were already underway for a summit in the northern city of Salonica, but had been awaiting the results of talks in Belgrade.

In Zagreb, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said he was ready to participate in the Salonica summit, according to his office cited by the HINA news agency.

Hina and Izetbegovic's adviser Kemal Muftic confirmed that Owen and Stoltenberg had issued invitations to a new meeting to try to push through the plan to divide Bosnia-Hercegovina among the Serb, Croatian and Moslem factions. Owen and Stoltenberg had hoped to persuade Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to give guarantees on Bosnian Serb territorial concessions to Bosnian Moslems.

Peace negotiations among the three factions resumed on November 29, after a two-month gap, on the initiative of European Community foreign ministers. Since then they have made little apparent progress.

Russian UN Envoy Seeks Exports for FRY

LD1012000593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2343 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] New York, December 9 (TANJUG)—Speaking at the U.N. sanctions committee meeting and condemning the committee's stalling with the decision, Russian Ambassador at the United Nations Yuliy Vorontsov requested Thursday the committee issue urgently permission for export of gas for humanitarian purposes and medicaments to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.).

The U.N. Security Council imposed in May last year international sanctions against the F.R.Y. over its alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to Vorontsov, Yugoslavia was faced with a real humanitarian disaster. The acute shortages of medicaments, fuels and other essential goods under the conditions of a harsh winter as was the case now was a real threat to the health and lives of hundreds of thousand people and sowed daily numerous victims among the most vulnerable segments of the population, said the Russian ambassador.

In his view, the sanctions should not be used as an instrument punishing the innocent without exception and in this way threatening the U.N.'s reputation and its humanistic ideals and tradition.

He said it was clear from the Yugoslav Government report that the domestic gas reserves were far below heating levels and that larger quantities were necessary also for running certain industrial branches intended to meet the population's most basic needs.

Vorontsov recalled that the Russian request has been put forth as early as two months ago and proposed that control of distribution be performed by an Italian firm "ENI", but said the Russian side was prepared also to accept other proposals. He urged also supply of Bosnia-Herzegovina with gas and establishing a system of control so as to avoid abuse or misconduct.

He asked also the committee stop blocking imports of raw materials needed for the production of medicaments in the F.R.Y., something which, as he said, ran contrary to the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions.

He also urged lifting of blockade on the Yugoslav financial assets abroad which would be used to purchase food and medicaments and assessed that this was in full accord with the committee rules of procedure.

Zhelev Greets Black Sea Ministers Meeting

AU0912134093 Sofia BTA in English 1143 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Report by Iva Toncheva]

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Foreign ministers of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone opened a meeting here this morning. This is the third such meeting since 11 countries signed a declaration on Black Sea economic cooperation in June 1992. The meeting is attended by representatives of Turkey, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine. Also attending are delegates from Poland and Tunisia (which have an observer status) and Slovakia and Israel (which have applied to be granted an observer status).

"Black Sea economic cooperation is moving in a desired direction," Bulgaria's President Zhelyu Zhelev said in his welcoming address. He added that Black Sea economic cooperation can with good reason be described as fruitful and promising. President Zhelev said regional

economic cooperation "should help surmount anachronisms and ethnicity or religion-based conflicts and contemplate the future through the prism of good-neighbourliness, partnership and steady progress." "Subregional cooperation, which we are ready to promote, is an integral part of European and global processes," President Zhelev emphasized, adding that time would prove the value of Black Sea cooperation. He stressed that Bulgaria was interested in a speedier adjustment and a full integration into European structures and is ready to seek ways to do so on the basis of multilateral cooperation within the Black Sea Cooperation Zone or by diversifying bilateral contacts with each Black Sea country.

The Bulgarian president described the achievements of Black Sea cooperation so far as an encouraging beginning. He said it was important to set up a Black Sea trade and development bank as soon as possible. "We think, in the process of cooperation, special attention should be given to the building of an advanced transport and communications infrastructure, fitting into the European system and reliably linking Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and northern Africa." According to Zhelev, moving this idea, Bulgaria does not only take into account immediate difficulties springing from the economic sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro. "This is a matter of principle and of primary importance," said Zhelev.

He also said that passing the rules of procedure and setting up the International Secretariat of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Zone, the participating countries developed its structural framework and it is now important to fill in specific agreements and projects and lively business contacts.

The Bulgarian president called attention to the fact that excessive institutionalization at this stage, and too broad a range of cooperation, inconsistent with the national capacities and resources of the participating states, could prove to be ineffective, premature ambitions. "It seems more reasonable to concentrate on priority areas of reciprocal benefit and interest," Zhelev emphasized.

In his address, the Bulgarian president expressed hope that the problems in the zones of conflict will soon find a lasting settlement, citing raging or smouldering conflicts in former Yugoslavia, the Caucasus, and other areas.

After the president's welcome address, the participants took part in a photo opportunity. Later on President Zhelev met briefly with the delegations' leaders.

The participants began their first working meeting. According to preliminary information, they will review the progress of cooperation over the last six months. The sides are expected to select the seat of a Black Sea trade and development bank from among Sofia, Istanbul and Salonika, and grant an observer status to new candidates.

Resolutions Reported

AU1012113693 Sofia BTA in English 2031 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—At their 3rd meeting held here today, the ministers of foreign affairs of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) decided that the headquarters of the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank be located in the city of Thessaloniki. Sofia and Istanbul also bid to host the bank. The ministers agreed that they will endeavour through their governors in the bank to give the presidency of the bank to Turkey and the first vice-presidency to Bulgaria. Under a decision of the BSEC Working Group on Banking and Finance, made this summer, Russia, Greece and Turkey hold 13.5 percent each in the bank, and the remaining five BSEC countries (Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova), 2 per cent each. The ministers today approved the draft agreement establishing the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank. The bank is expected to go into operation immediately after the ratification of the agreement. Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov told a news conference later in the day that the resolutions on the bank were among the most important ones reached at the meeting. At it, Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece and Romania were represented by their chief diplomats, and the rest of the countries by deputy prime ministers. Officials of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, the European Union and the Central European Initiative also attended the meeting.

Mr. Daskalov told a news conference this evening that BSEC is proceeding from the stage of organization to the stage of actual operation. He said he was pleased with the results of the meeting.

The participants also adopted the criteria and the methods of establishing relations with non-governmental organizations. The ministers adopted the document containing the job descriptions, recruitment procedures and terms of office of the staff of the International Secretariat. Mr. Evgeniy Kutovoy was appointed director of the International Secretariat as of January 1, 1994. "The ministers also decided to appoint to the posts of three assistant directors the candidates of Romania, Turkey and Ukraine. The ministers took note of and positively reacted to the candidature of Bulgaria for the post of director for the next term of office," the resolutions, decisions and recommendations of the meeting read.

At the meeting, Slovakia, Israel and Egypt were granted observer status in BSEC. The Israeli delegate told reporters that the organization has a fine future. He noted that there is already an idea of an economic bloc of the Middle East states which will open yet another opportunity for cooperation between the Middle East countries and the Black Sea countries.

Asked about the prospects of establishing diplomatic relations between Turkey and Armenia, Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin said that this will not happen as long as Armenia does not withdraw from the occupied Azerbaijani territory. Reacting instantly to this statement, Armenian Deputy Foreign Minister George Kazinian [name as received] said that Armenia is seeking normal relations with Turkey but, as he put it, "the ball is now in official Ankara's court." "Armenia has not been involved and is not involved in the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenia has no claims to the land of Azerbaijan," the Armenian diplomat went on to say. For his part, Azerbaijani Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Mamed-Kuliyev [name as received] observed that the December 1989 resolution of the Armenian Parliament on the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh has not yet been rescinded.

Cooperation Meeting Ends

AU0912175993 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Excerpts] The meeting of foreign ministers of the 11 countries participating in the Black Sea Economic Cooperation has ended. [passage omitted]

The most important issue that was discussed, and which could be described as the most important result of the meeting was the establishment of the Black Sea Bank on Trade and Development, the adoption of its Statute, and determining that it will be seated in Thessaloniki. A Turkish representative will be the bank's president. His deputy will be a Bulgarian representative.

The next meeting of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation will take place in Tbilisi, Georgia, in the second half of June 1994.

University Student Strike Intensifies

AU0912141993 Paris AFP in English 1258 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, Dec 9 (AFP)—A protest strike by university students intensified here Thursday as some 15,000 out of 18,000 registered in the capital downed textbooks to demand an improvement in living standards, the movement's leaders said.

Education Minister Xhezair Teliti was due to meet student representatives Thursday, but strikers' leaders Altin Xhino and Marin Selimollari said they had refused and called instead for talks with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi.

Many students have no grants and therefore no way of paying for food, while university accommodation often lacks water, electricity and heating, the leaders said. The strike began Wednesday, when 4,000 students refused to attend class in protest at living conditions.

The strike follows a protest in October by students at Tirana's Polytechnic and Agriculture Institutes, who stayed away from classes for several days. Tirana students were at the forefront of Albania's pro-democracy movement which in December 1990 helped force the introduction of a multi-party system, heralding the fall of the hardline communist regime which had ruled the country for more than four decades.

Teliti Meets With Students

AU0912180393 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] At noon today, representatives of the students of the Polytechnic University had a meeting with Education Minister Xhezair Teliti, specialists of the ministry, and representatives of the rectorate of the university.

Minister Teliti told Radio Tirana: After the meeting with students, we also discussed the economic problems that were put forward in the petition, by analyzing them one by one. We agreed and carefully observed the opportunities that the government has at present, in conformity with their demands.

Regarding the problems pertaining to our Ministry, we promised to solve them, while as for the other issues outside the Ministry prerogatives, we will continue to discuss. We will also organize a meeting at Tirana Municipality about the living problems in the Students City.

Altin Gjini, representative of the students senates of the Polytechnic University, said that he appreciates the fact that, at last, the Ministry discussed our problems with us and not with other organs. On the second day of the interruption of lessons, according to him, this was the first stage of dialogue with the government. The students' representatives will organize another meeting with the mayor of Tirana.

Meksi Addresses Student Anniversary Meeting

AU0912142093 Tirana ATA in English 1122 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, December 9 (ATA)—The third anniversary of the beginning of the democratic revolution which led to the overthrow of the communist dictatorship in Albania was commemorated in "Student" Campus December 8. Present at the ceremonies were also Premier Meksi, Democratic Party Leader Eduard Selami as well as ministers and deputies.

In his address Mr. Meksi appreciated the historic role of Albanian students in the December 1990 anticommunist movement. Mr. Selami told memoirs from those days when the students supported by the people of Tirana under the leadership of Dr. Sali Berisha overthrew the most savage dictatorship in Europe, thus dealing the first blows to the 50 year communist dictatorship.

Slovenia's Kucan Visits; Bosnia, Kosovo Viewed

AU0912191293 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] President Milan Kucan, who arrived for one-day official visit in Tirana last night, today had talks with all most prominent Albanian representatives. Here is television journalist Blanka Dobersek reporting about the visit and the talks:

[Begin Dobersek recording] The talks may in fact be divided into three parts: the talks with the host, Albanian President Sali Berisha; exchange of views with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi; and meeting with Parliament Chairman (Pietro Argnolli).

The talks with President Berisha were first tete-a-tete. As we learned later, the talks had only one topic: Albania does not recognize [words indistinct] change of borders. Sali Berisha expressed concern that clashes in Bosnia may spread to Kosovo. Albania would then have to protect its people, which would logically mean the beginning of a new Balkan war. And exactly in order to avoid this happen, the host said, Albania must work, even more, together with those people who can prevent that, the Europeans.

The Slovene views are similar and occasionally identical. The Slovene president also said that only transitional solutions are being realized so far, but there is going to be no peace until the Serbian national question is solved.

Regarding the European integrational process, the two presidents [words indistinct], so Europe must [passage indistinct].

In the talks between the Slovene president with Albanian Prime Minister Meksi, [passage indistinct] that reached $4 million, [passage indistinct] in medicine and health service.

This is going to be discussed at the beginning of next year at the meeting of the two countries' mixed commission.

Pietro (Argnolli), chairman of the Albanian Parliament, first thanked Slovenia for its advocating the protection of Albanians in Kosovo in the past and at the same time said that he hopes his parliamentaries will meet the Slovene parliamentaries.

The afternoon passed pleasantly, in one-hour sightseeing of Albania from a helicopter. This evening, the brief but substantial visit will be concluded with a formal dinner. [end recording]

Zhelev Meets Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias

AU1012114093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] On 9 December, President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev received Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias. Thanking him for Greece's vote in adopting the interim trade agreement with the European Community, and for Greece's support for Bulgaria's integration into the European structures, President Zhelev proposed that the Greek Parliament should be the first to ratify the agreement with the European Community.

Karabashev, Ukraine's Makarenko Discuss Trade

AU0812185293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] On 8 December, Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev met Aleksandr Makarenko, Ukraine's deputy minister of foreign affairs. During the talk, the guest stressed that the Ukrainian Government is prepared to cooperate with Bulgaria in implementing joint projects in the areas of coal mining and pharmaceuticals.

Minister Karabashev expressed gratitude for the operational solution of Bulgaria's power supply problem. He stressed that the Bulgarian Government is also prepared to expand trade-economic relations with Ukraine.

Further on Turkish Foreign Minister's Visit

Meets With Yordanov, Others

AU0912130393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] On 8 December Turkey's Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin consecutively met National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov and representatives of the two major factions—the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

The situation in the Balkans was the main theme discussed. Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov expressed the Bulgarian position that accelerating the procedure related to admitting Bulgaria to NATO will be a guarantee of the security in the region. He also raised the issue of the Bulgarian hospital in Constantinople and the plot on which the Bulgarian school used to stand. Mr. Yordanov invited the chairman of the Turkish Parliament to visit Bulgaria as the head of a parliamentarian delegation.

At the meeting with the BSP faction Mrs. Nora Ananieva outlined the progress of the changes in Bulgaria. According to her the picture in the economic sphere was not very optimistic. Mrs. Ananieva said that the government enjoys the support of three parliamentary factions, without the SDS, of course, but the BSP still criticizes the government for insufficient orientation in the realm of national interests.

The BSP faction stressed two basic principles of Bulgaria's foreign policy during the meeting with the guest: Noninterference in the Yugoconflict and not allowing the development of relations with one country at the expense of another.

On 26 December the new Bulgarian ambassador, Viktor Vulkov, will present his credentials in Ankara. According to the BSP this will give a great impetus to our relations with Turkey.

We do not support the war, Mr. Cetin said. According to him Turkey's losses from the various embargoes amount to $20 billion, which could be written off. He also said that the Black Sea Economic Cooperation must not be politicized.

Stefan Savov, chairman of the SDS parliamentary faction, said that the Turkish foreign minister highly assessed the contribution of the SDS to resolving the ethnic conflicts and to developing good relations between the two countries.

At present the Turkish foreign minister is meeting the parliamentary faction of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms.

Holds Talks With Zhelev

AU0912172593 Sofia BTA in English 1417 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev received Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin today. Mr. Cetin arrived on an official visit here yesterday. He will take part in a foreign ministers' meeting of the countries participating in Black Sea economic cooperation. Mr. Cetin presented a message from President Suleyman Demirel of Turkey to the president of Bulgaria. The message expresses support for Bulgaria's desire to cooperate with NATO, President Zhelev's spokesman said after the meeting. Mr. Cetin said that when the time comes, Turkey would support Bulgaria's candidature for membership in the organization. NATO has got some very important problems to solve. At a meeting on January 10, 1994, the organization will consider the proposal of the United States concerning the countries of the former Warsaw Pact, reporters were told by Mr. Cetin.

It was agreed to expedite the signing of the agreements on the avoidance of double taxation and reciprocal encouragement of investments between Bulgaria and Turkey, the president's spokesman said. Both sides declared themselves to be against any organizations that entertain separatist, extremist and nationalistic ideas. "Bulgaria will not allow similar organizations in its territory," President Zhelev's spokesman added. Mr. Cetin pointed out that terrorism is the most serious threat to democracy, peace and the countries' stability. Already existing, cooperation in the combat against terrorism will be further activated, the Turkish foreign minister said.

Assesses Black Sea Meeting

TA0912183693 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1700 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Report over video by Yavuz Yorulmaz in Sofia]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Assessing the Black Sea Economic Cooperation [BSEC] foreign ministers' meeting being held here, Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin said:

[Begin Cetin recording] With this meeting, the organization—which was established through Turkey's initiative—gained momentum. The institutions of the organization were completed at this meeting. For example, it was decided that the statistics and economic unit which was established within the Turkish Statistics Institute earlier should be turned into a body that will serve all the members of the BSEC members. Also, a decision in principle was reached that the BSEC Council, which was established in Istanbul by the businessmen of 11 countries, should be in contact with international financial organizations.

However, most important of all, the units of the BSEC have been established. As you know, the secretariat will be established in Istanbul. At this meeting, it was decided to elect a director from the Russian Federation. One of his three aides will be from Turkey. The other two will be from Ukraine and Romania.

It had been decided earlier to set up a bank to finance the concrete projects of the BSEC. It has now been decided that the bank headquarters be in Thessaloniki, its governor be from Turkey, and its deputy governor from Bulgaria.

Certain other decisions were also made. As you know, at the meeting held in Turkey, Tunisia and Poland were accepted as observers. At this meeting, three more countries gained the status of observers; they are Egypt, Israel, and the Slovak Republic. [end recording]

Meanwhile, Cetin was also received by Bulgarian President Zhelev, whom he gave a reply letter from President Demirel. Cetin will return to Turkey this evening.

Statement Issued on Visit

AU1012113793 Sofia BTA in English 2002 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs released a joint statement on the visit Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin paid to Bulgaria on December 8-9 at the invitation of Bulgarian Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov.

A number of problems concerning bilateral relations and current developments in the region were considered in detail in the light of the Treaty of Friendship, Goodneighbourliness, Cooperation and Security signed on May 6, 1992, there was an exchange of views on international issues, the document says.

The two foreign ministers discussed the development of Bulgarian-Turkish relations following the signing of the Protocol on Joint Activity on March 31, 1992, including economic, trade and military cooperation. They expressed their satisfaction with the progress bilateral relations had made and decided to continue the talks on property, social and humanitarian issues and on the range of problems concerning the Rezovska River, the delimitation of territorial waters in the Black Sea, and flight information zones.

The foreign ministers decided to accelerate the preparations for the signing of agreements on trade, economic and technological cooperation, on the avoidance of double taxation and on the reciprocal encouragement and protection of investments, so that these can be signed during the next high-level meeting.

The foreign ministers confirmed the necessity of settling the liabilities ensuing from the Agreement on Mitigating the Consequences From the Drought in August 1993, signed on August 6 this year.

Concerning the Agreement on Cooperation in Drug Trafficking, Terrorism and Organized Crime Control signed by the Interior Ministries of Bulgaria and Turkey, the foreign ministers decided to recommend to their competent authorities to activate their cooperation in this sphere, the joint statement reads.

For the purpose of giving a further impetus to the promotion of regional cooperation in transport and communications, the two ministers agreed on the necessity to build a direct route between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. They agreed to invite the respective ministers of the interested countries to a meeting in Sofia in the first half of 1994.

The foreign ministers decided that a working group would be set up to draft and coordinate a protocol updating the protocol on joint activity which would be signed during the Bulgarian foreign minister's visit to Turkey.

Slatinski Criticizes Turks' Minority Claims

AU1912194393 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 24 Nov 93 pp 1,4

[Interview with Nikolay Slatinski, chairman of the Parliamentary National Security Commission, by Valeriya Vaseva; place and date not given: "The Claims For a Turkish Minority Status Are A Threat to Bulgaria's Security"]

[Text] [Vaseva] Mr. Slatinski, are the claims voiced by some leaders of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] regarding the establishment of a Turkish national minority a menace to our country's national security?

[Slatinski] Such claims represent an immediate and dangerous threat to our country's security, to its national unity, and its territorial integrity. Evidently, not only

Adem Kenan's [leader of the Turkish Democratic Party] plans are pursuing the establishment of a Turkish national minority in Bulgaria as a strategic goal. Some more clever politicians are hiding this secret aspiration under the cover of tactical objectives, such as the theory of an ethnic minority. I hope that the DPS leadership is aware of this and shall energetically resist such trends.

[Vaseva] How do you evaluate Mr. Dogan's statement that the country's ethnic division is a counterpoint to the totalitarian view on the integrity and indivisibility of the nation?

[Slatinski] If Mr. Dogan really said so, his statement reflects a very negative trend in the DPS and a straightforward attempt to encourage and stimulate the country's ethnic division. This is in contradiction to both the European trend and with Bulgaria's interests. Ethnic or religious affiliation should not be exploited for political purposes. It is in contradiction to the Bulgarian Constitution. Considering the additional refusal of the DPS to recognize the ethnic origins of the Bulgarian Muslims, I think that I have enough reason to revise my approach to the Movement. Statements such as those aforementioned demonstrate Mr. Dogan's alienation from a constructive approach and represent a provocation against the Bulgarian public whose tolerance for the ethnic Turks has already been confirmed. It is strange that such a statement reflects the ambitions of certain local DPS leaders and shows a discrepancy between words and deeds.

[Vaseva] Why is no one paying attention to the Islamic emissaries who are touring our native country?

[Slatinski] I have repeatedly expressed my concern about the fact that foreign emissaries enjoying all kinds of immunity are touring precisely those areas of our country where religious and ethnic relations are most controversial, and are doing so on all occasions. Our civilian and military counter-intelligence are in a very desolate state. The attitude of our politicians is very ambivalent in this respect, and is subject to their narrowminded party interests. We have not the manly courage to act as a responsible state by declaring as "persona non grata" and expelling anyone who encourages separatism or other similar processes threatening our nation. Bulgaria is the Balkan country that most conscientious and strictly observes the Human Rights Charter, hence it would be cynical to accuse our country of any human rights' violations whatsoever.

[Vaseva] Rumor says that the Islamic Conference Organization has requested its members to establish economic relations with Bulgaria under the condition that "the rights of the Muslim minority are observed."

[Slatinski] Such policies affect not only Bulgaria. Powerful capitalists are focusing their attention on so-called "tiny Muslim islands" in various countries of our region. The trend of mistaking religious affiliations for ethnic ones is very evident. It is inadmissible to go to a foreign country and conduct negotiations about credits and scholarships with private individuals, while ignoring the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the government.

I am not pleased with the fact that Nedim Gendzhev [former chief mufti under Zhivkov's regime and currently in charge of a Turkish nationalist group], with his capital assets of unexplained origins should be a frequent guest at the Union of Democratic Forces headquarters in 134, Rakovski Street.

The misunderstood pseudo-democracy is very dangerous, because by degenerating into anarchy, it is a menace for the state. The integration of minorities is a difficult process that requires mutual respect, good will, and compromise. Every member of the Bulgarian Parliament should work only for Bulgaria and for no other country whatsoever, and this does not apply to the DPS alone, it applies to all of us. Let there be no misunderstanding on this point.

[Vaseva] Some political experts are openly talking about an alien center that is working for Bulgaria's split up. Hence, the Ilinden United Macedonian Organizations demand autonomy for Pirin Macedonia, while Adem Kenan requests the establishment of a Turkish Federation. Why is parliament not reacting to such claims?

[Slatinski] The European continent is confronted with powerful influences and interests that are striving to split it, weaken it, and involve it in disastrous regional conflicts. Europe's weakest link—the Balkan region—is therefore being attacked. However, Bulgaria, being an island and factor of security and peace, is the crucial part of the region. Hence, we are virtually subject to the destabilizing efforts of external forces and to their support for socalled "Macedonian," "Pomak," and other parties, which are elements of destabilization, aimed at preventing us from implementing our political, economic, and cultural objectives, likely to transform our country into a regional force. Our parliament is not efficient, because it has no geostrategic outlook, because an entire delegation in the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly is harassing Europe with its anti-Bulgarian attacks, which is an unique and unprecedented situation, while we are tolerating this situation, being still incapable of realizing that our country's survival is at stake.

[Vaseva] Can the concept of "nationalism" rally our people around the idea of our state's internal unity and stability?

[Slatinski] The country needs the integrated efforts of a political elite in the sphere of foreign policy and national security.

As a deputy from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] I am distressed at the thought that some of our leaders are treating the national idea, the concept of national honor, and national pride as empty words, belonging to the despicable terminology of "chauvinism." I cannot hate my country just because so many Communists live in it. (Such a hatred is likely to generate new national revival processes, because it is very easy to substitute one

object of hostility with another). I cannot rejoice at Bulgaria's economic and political disintegration simply because I dislike the Berov government and the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The national idea must permeate all our entire political life and our transition to democracy, so that the wellbeing and the human rights of all Bulgarian citizens may be protected. No European United States are ever likely to exist in the future. Our continent shall be integrated, but only as Europe composed of numerous homelands.

[Vaseva] NATO does not want us. The European Union rejected the trade agreement with our country, whom should we rely upon? Will not the Russian military doctrine once more come to the rescue of the Slavonic peoples against the Islamic invasion?

[Slatinski] Let us put it more precisely and explain the concept: We are not talking about Islam as a religion, but about Islamic fundamentalism.

Bulgaria, being an European country, should belong to the European structures. It is another question that those structures should be amended and adjusted to the new era. We should never present Bulgaria on a plate to anyone, under any form whatsoever. This applies to all kinds of Slavonic and Eastern Orthodox alliances, and it also means that we should not sacrifice our national interests to abstract forms of democracy and unpatriotic cosmopolitanism. Such concepts are secondary characteristic features covering our obedience to one of the big brothers.

However, I do not share the insulting tone in which some of our SDS-affiliated publications are attacking Russia. In addition to historical illiteracy, rude manners, and a total lack of pragmatism, such attacks represent a new, totally erroneous ideologization, which is simply reversing the targets.

Bulgaria deserves and shall duly occupy its place in the pan- European security sphere, because this sphere cannot remain for ever cut up and distorted. Under the present circumstances, a non- European great power is directly involved with European security, while the other great European power, namely Russia, is excluded and isolated from this security.

The stormy winds of alien interests are blowing through Bulgaria. Let us not act like a poor, defenseless feather that humbly lets itself be swept away. On the other hand, let us not be too self- confident, let us not lightheartedly and irresponsibly stand in their way, so as to let them destroy us.

Let us build our foreign policy upon the basis of pragmatism in accordance with our national interests. Let it function like a windmill that is grinding the good grain for our country's survival and revival.

Roundup: Energy Official Rules Out Power Cuts

AU0812150093 Sofia BTA in English 2216 GMT 7 Dec 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, December 7 (BTA)—At today's regular meeting, the parliamentary Budget and Finance Committee took a stand on a draft resolution concerning the appropriation of funds for the settlement of Bulgaria's debt to the creditor banks of the London Club. The committee proposed that parliament endorse the conclusion of a final agreement on the settlement of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank's liabilities to the creditor banks in compliance with the outline terms proposed. The committee approved the payment of 5 percent of the 1993 interest due to the creditor banks. It proposed that the Bulgarian National Bank credit $300 million from the foreign currency reserves to a special account of the Ministry of Finance by January 15, 1994 for making the initial payment that is part of the debt settlement deal.

The European Community granted seven million ECU to the Bulgarian agriculture, Minister of Agriculture Georgi Tanev said at today's regular briefing.

"Talking with public figures and politicians in Cyprus, we felt their concern over the contacts between the two countries fading away," Mariyana Khristova, chairperson of the Friends of Cyprus Parliamentary Society, said at a press conference. Ms. Khristova told about the visit paid by a delegation of the society to Cyprus at the invitation of the House of Representatives of Cyprus. About 1,200 Cypriots are graduates of Bulgarian universities, she added.

"All power plants produce their full capacity and there is no danger of power cuts," a press conference was told by Plamen Denchev, deputy chairman of the parliamentary Energy and Energy Resources Committee. According to him, there are two major problems: The reserves in the dams supplying the hydroelectric power stations having reached their minimum and the supply of coal to the Varna Thermoelectric Power Station in northeastern Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

Nedelcho Petkov, chief of the Regional Service for Organized Crime Control in Plovdiv, southern Bulgaria, told journalists today that as the Bulgarian legislation leaves loopholes for money laundering, hard currency of unidentified origin had been flowing into Bulgaria mainly from the ex-Soviet Republics and Latin America, the local correspondent of BTA reported. Plovdiv promises to become this country's second biggest financial centre which makes it attractive for money laundering, Mr. Petkov is reported as saying. [passage omitted]

Government Exceeds Permitted 1993 Budget Deficit

AU1012113993 Sofia BTA in English 1232 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—The cash deficit totalled 29.398 billion leva at the end of November,

according to commercial banks' accounts current with the central bank. In the first eleven months of the year the projected 1993 deficit of 27.584 billion leva was exceeded by 1.814 billion leva (6.6 percent). The figures are quoted in several central dailies today: TRUD, KONTINENT, and PARI.

Low budget revenues account for the increase in the budget deficit, according to experts. Revenues were projected at 71.349 billion leva, of which a mere 46.573 billion leva has been collected (65.3 percent). Other causes include the persisting economic decline, the delay in structural adjustment and problems in taxation. Parliament failed to pass in time major tax laws which would have helped collect revenues. The transformation of bad debts into public debt is also being delayed, which makes the banks uncertain about their profits. As a result, only 14 percent of the projected amount has been paid to the treasury. At an extraordinary sitting on Tuesday 7 December parliament passed on first reading a bill on the transformation of bad debts, estimated at 75 billion leva, into public debt.

So far budget deficit financing has amounted to 29.1 billion leva, of which 80 percent is government securities and 20 percent direct loans from the central bank.

The cabinet yesterday officially asked parliament for a budget deficit increase of 5.47 billion leva because of a shortfall in social security contributions. Thus the deficit would exceed 33 billion leva, reaching 10 percent of the GDP, while the International Monetary Fund insists on 6 percent.

"If parliament decides to increase the 1993 budget deficit by 5 billion leva, it will have to specify the source of financing, direct borrowing from the central bank or government securities," according to Mileti Mladenov, deputy governor of the Bulgarian National Bank. Then the bank would lend the government the amount specified by parliament.

From end-October to end-November the central bank's foreign exchange reserves dropped by 30 million dollars, the PARI daily reported today, quoting REUTER. The foreign exchange reserves now total $798.7 million, down from $827.2 million at the end of October. (The central bank's gold reserve of over 1 million troy ounces is not included in these figures.)

The depleted foreign exchange reserves and the lack of dollars needed for the repayment of Bulgaria's foreign debt could lead to a new rise in the dollar, according to experts. At the Interbank Foreign Exchange Market yesterday the dollar rate rose 0.50 leva, reaching 32 leva to the dollar. The central bank is unlikely to intervene with large sums to stop the rise in the dollar, experts predict. In January the central bank is expected to release $300 million to the Finance Ministry for the resumption of debt repayment.

Loans expected from the IMF and the World Bank will go towards the repayment of the foreign debt and will not appear on the foreign exchange market. The rest of the amount needed for the purpose will have to be bought on the market, and large-scale buying will keep the dollar at a high level, experts say. They believe that if a new dollar crisis hits the market, as it did less than a month ago, the central bank will apply again stronger restrictive measures to commercial banks. According to experts, the dollar rate will level off for a while and will tend up again next year.

Government Amends Decree on Ore Mining

AU1012113593 Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 9 (BTA)—The government today amended a 1992 Council of Ministers decree on restructuring of ore mining and phased closure of money-losing mines. This was one of the main demands raised by the miners who have been on strike since December 1. They had their other demand, for payment of wages overdue two months, met at the previous cabinet meeting.

The updated version of the decree which was adopted in July 1992 augments the list of hopelessly inefficient sections and mines and sets time limits for their technical closure. In addition, the decree provides for funded programmes of alternative employment of redundant miners. In quite a few areas, mining is a staple and even sole livelihood and people there strongly resent the forthcoming mine closures. The decree provides for mechanisms for the transformation into public debt of part of the principal and interest on the loans of operations which will not be abandoned. Ore mining has been a loss-making industry for three or four years now as a result of the collapse of the former COMECON [Council ffor Mutual Economic Assistance] market. The 1994 draft budget allocates 1,200 million leva for pit closures, said Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev.

The cabinet authorized Industry Minister Rumen Bikov to hold negotiations with the Federation of Independent Miners Trade Unions with the National Strike Committee and sign an agreement with them should they reach common understanding. Besides, Mr. Bikov was assigned, in his capacity as representative of the state which owns the mines, to enforce some of the cabinet decisions, regarding that the directors and the office staff of the ore-mining commercial partnerships draw the minimum national wage until the miners' problems are settled and that the representatives of the state on the supervisory boards of those partnerships be denied remuneration. Mr. Bikov was also authorized to consider the professional accomplishments of the members of the partnerships' governing bodies and replace some of them if necessary.

Representatives of the striking miners today staged a protest rally in Sofia's Central Square. Some 30 buses had brought strikers from mining areas across the country. Out of solidarity with the ore miners, the rally was attended by coal miners and uranium miners and

representatives of the Trade Unions of Physicians and Teachers. The participants in the rally voted a declaration saying that they will not call off their industrial action until their demands are met. The declaration was delivered to parliament, the office of the president and the Council of Ministers.

A representative of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria told reporters that the Strike Committee was continuing negotiations with Industry Minister Rumen Bikov. He expressed satisfaction with the progress of talks so far and said that a preliminary agreement with the government may be reached. After that, by a decision of the Miners Federation, the strike will be suspended for a week or two, during which the miners will decide whether to accept this deal through a referendum.

Mr. Bikov said at the government press office today that his ministry had no information about mines on effective strike. The ministry is only receiving fax messages in which miners from across the country support the demands raised but do not report that they have stopped work.

Klaus Sees Economic Reforms as 'Completed'

AU0912142193 Prague MLADY SVET in Czech No. 48, 26 Nov 93, pp 14, 15

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Karel Hvizdala and Petr Busta; place and date not given: "I Am Afraid of Politicking"]

[Excerpt] [MLADY SVET] The following sentence has appeared in the foreign press from time to time: Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus speaks as a right-winger, but his policy is actually social-democratic. Can you comment on this?

[Klaus] I have to laugh at such statements. Our enemies, and those who do not want the post-November process to succeed, had been attacking us from the left, but when they saw that we were able successfully to counter their arguments, they tried a new strategy—to attack us from the right.

[MLADY SVET] You said the economic reform was over. However, it seems that the most spectacular bankruptcies are still to come, rents will go up drastically, etc. Do you see any discrepancy between what you have said and the reality?

[Klaus] I really appreciate your knowledge. You know that the most spectacular bankruptcies and the largest price increases are still to come. That is something that I do not know. I really did say that the economic reform had ended—in a certain sense. I said precisely this: "We have the health minister here, so I will take an example from his sector. We are in a situation where the operation—that is, our surgery—has been completed, and the convalescence should now follow."

I stand by this example, and I also believe that we are no longer in the first phase of our convalescence, but slightly further on. Let us distinguish between transformation work and post- transformation work. Privatization, for instance, is a transformation task. The modernization, restructuring, and financial stabilization of a specific company are post- transformation tasks. The secret of mastering systemic changes—such as those that are under way in our country—lies in the ability to distinguish between these two types of work.

[MLADY SVET] Let us return to the bankruptcy issue. We said that bankruptcies are still to come. We based our statement on what we read in the newspapers: Approximately a third of enterprises have been privatized. The most important step is still to come, and the enterprises that are in bad condition are not likely to stand the test.

[Klaus] I do not know—and neither do you—whether they will stand the test or not. It makes no sense to make predictions. The erroneous and misleading statements that the government should initiate bankruptcy proceedings were a slip of the tongue of one member of the government.

I do not know why are you saying that a third of enterprises have been privatized. To my knowledge, on average, between three and eight enterprises are being privatized every day in the Czech Republic. I do not know the exact number of privatized enterprises. I can only say that on 30 June 1993, 58.1 percent of GDP was being created by the private sector. So, it could be two-thirds rather than one-third of privatized enterprises, which is not only a quantitative, but also a qualitative difference. Moreover, I distinguish between privatization as a reformist step, changing the system—destroying one world and creating another—and privatization that is not part of transformation, that is, the privatization of state-run businesses. We will have to proceed from privatization that changes the system toward privatization of the postal services, the railroads, telecommunications, and nuclear power stations, which is a totally different thing and can be tackled only after the transformation process has been completed. When I speak about two-thirds, then I do not mean that the goal of systemic transformation is to privatize two-thirds of companies. The world is different now and will become even more different after the second wave of coupon privatization is over. Privatization—as a constituent part of the systemic transformation—will be finally over in 1994. But, do not take my word for it. Privatization will end as a systemic element, but the privatization of individual companies will not end.

[MLADY SVET] When listening to you, one always calms down and has the feeling that everything is all right. However, there will be the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] congress, and people—the electorate—have the feeling that your party is not as united as it used to be. Why? Because various factions are popping up in your party—as in any large party—and your party is getting into a totally different stage of development.

[Klaus] First, let us distinguish between reality and reports in the media. They are two different things, I believe.

If I am to react to the headlines in the newspapers, or to reality, then in both cases I have to say that there is no divergency within the ODS. To a certain extent we have been split over our view on history since the very moment our party was established. Since our first constituent meeting in April 1991, the issue of whether former members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia should be admitted into the party has become a political evergreen.

[MLADY SVET] You are speaking about objective views and those of journalists, but you are forgetting that there also is a third view—yours. You are trying to tell us what the ODS should be! Anyway, there are pressures coming from regional organizations to propose Mr. Strasky for chairman of the party. Whenever there is a vote, it can be seen that the party is not completely unified. The vote on the territorial division is a good example. Mr. Vlach's position is patently different, and not only his....

[Klaus] I do not understand what you are saying. You would want us to introduce tough party discipline, like that in the former Communist Party. Since this is not the case, you are coming to far-reaching conclusions about divergencies in our party. I do not believe that the unity of our party is being disturbed in the slightest if someone has a different opinion about the speed of implementation of administrative and territorial reform. It is quite natural for someone from a small town to raise arguments against people from the capital, and deputies in parliament to disagree slightly with officials from the executive bodies, albeit from the same party. This is the most natural thing in the world. So, I am sorry, I have to disappoint you.

[MLADY SVET] We are asking whether building the new state, carrying out the economic transformation, etc., were the main pillars of the ODS policy. If yes—which is what you are saying—then you need to adopt a different policy now. Are you seeking to draft a new policy?

[Klaus] It is easy to unify people when you have an uncompromising revolutionary program. However, if someone has the feeling that we have crossed the Rubicon and that we can ease up on our uncompromising pace forward, then this is something different. I believe that our reformist steps must be clear, straightforward, and easy to understand. The further our country returns to normal, the more shades of opinion we will have. However, I do not believe that our policy should be abandoned right now. I have been through 33 meetings this year, and have spoken to many people. I do not see any shifts in opinion. Of course, there are people everywhere who are dissatisfied that someone whom they do not like has won the [privatization] auction in their town. There is always a group of people who dislike positive programs, but my experience is that their proportion is two out of 20.

[MLADY SVET] How do you view the opinion that a real opposition will be established only when the left wing splinters away from the ODS?

[Klaus] This is certainly not true. However, I am afraid that certain phenomena that we did not see in the past have become frequent in our country. That is, politicking instead of real politics, and political gestures instead of a real daily work. People are trying to score on the abstract scale of popularity, instead of developing a clear-cut political initiative. It is easy to gain popularity points if you do not have to express your opinion on the issues that are very topical in society. I am disappointed that many people are unwilling to stick their necks out, are hiding in the crowd, and want someone else to be at the forefront.

[MLADY SVET] You spoke about the political scene in a general manner, but we would like to hear about your worries about the ODS.

[Klaus] I am not worried about the things that you just mentioned. I am worried that people are beginning to become wrapped up in themselves. They have nothing to tell others.

[MLADY SVET] It is because there are many people in our country who have contempt for politics?

[Klaus] I would not say so. I believe that it would do no harm if we were a normal country in which politics is one of the aspects of everyday life, where you do not have to buy five different newspapers, but where you just deal with usual matters and only sometimes look at the headlines in two main political papers. I believe the problem is that there are not many people who want to engage in politics.

[MLADY SVET] Can we say, then, that transformation as a systemic step is coming to an end and the time has come to deal with more specific problems? Will we have more time to deal with the education system, health care, etc.? The public has often had the impression that these problems are secondary to the government, since macroeconomic reform has been their priority. This is what critics are saying.

[Klaus] First, it would be a mistake to say that we have only dealt with macroeconomic problems. This is what people who do not want the economic reforms to be implemented and who want the state to interfere in microeconomics are saying. They are accusing us of having a macroeconomic vision of the world. This is an absolute paradox and nonsense. There are three parallel steps in our transformation. The first is to create macroeconomic stability, which we actually did in 1990 and 1991. The second step is the liberalization of the market, that is, giving up any state intervention in microeconomics, abolishing the central planning system, and deregulating prices, trade, and foreign trade. These are microeconomic measures par excellence. They have absolutely nothing in common with your reproach about our macroeconomic deviation. Privatization is the third reformist pillar. Again, privatization is a microeconomic change, and has nothing in common with macroeconomics.

According to the attacks by the critics whom you have in mind—Mr. Matejka and others—the state should engage in microeconomics. However, we are arguing: The state should deal with macroeconomics, and the owners of companies should deal with microeconomics. Those gentlemen want us do deal with industrial policy, agricultural policy, export-stimulating policy, and other state-provided intervention, and they are falsely accusing us of conducting only macroeconomic reform.

I do not think that we are only dealing with economic problems. Health care and education have undergone far-reaching and essential changes. I do not believe that anyone could be unaware of the changes taking place in our education system. If my son began teaching at a private secondary school in Liben, then I could not say that no changes have taken place. However, it is true that

at the very beginning the process of systemic transformation in the sphere of politics and the economy was a real priority.

[MLADY SVET] This may be because, apart from economics, we had no strong personalities and experts. In the education and health care system, you had to build your own concepts.

[Klaus] This is a good observation. I believe that in the education system we have no committed, educated, and politically gifted reformer, who has learned various theories and acquired sufficient experience. In do not know of any such reformer in agriculture or in the army, either. On the other hand, I believe that this is not having an impact on our system. It may affect the quality of education of children in mathematics, English, or social studies, but it cannot affect our system. This would require a longer time. Changes in education are made from generation to generation, while you can cope with inflation within a year. You can liberalize prices overnight, and complete privatization within three years. But, changing the quality of the education system at primary schools? This requires a different time span. It is a paradox, but this matter is not urgent. [passage omitted]

Klaus: ODS Deserves Credit for Balanced Budget

AU0912201193 Prague CTK in English 1535 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—The adoption of the fifth balanced budget since November 1989 is an enormous success, for which the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) could take the most credit, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists today. Later generations will be left no debts, he said.

The budget was a good deposit on a successful future, Klaus said, expressing satisfaction with the 0.5 percent rate of inflation in November and the 17.9 percent figure for this year to date. I believe them to be good results, he added.

Turning to local government reform, he said that he had no other goals than short-term, clear and pragmatic ones. When I say "pragmatic" I mean that I will open next week's government meeting with a free, general debate on the issue, Klaus said.

* * *

The parliamentary group of ODS deputies will support the bill on housing benefit, group chairman Jiri Vlach said.

The ODS would welcome it if an agreement could be reached within the coalition by the end of this year on what remained to be solved concerning restitution of church property, in some ways thus bringing the issue to a close, Vlach said, adding that the matter required a large volume of new legislation which could not possibly be expected to go through parliament before the end of the year.

Klaus Comments on Outcome of ODS Congress

AU0912172293 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Dec 93 pp 1,3

["Exclusive interview" with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Robert Dengler; place and date not given: "My Reelection Is a Certain Sign of Stability for the World"]

[Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus granted RUDE PRAVO an extensive exclusive interview, in which—following the recent Civic Democratic Party [ODS] congress—he commented on the situation within the strongest government party, and certain issues of government policy.

[Dengler] You have quoted the secretary general of the World Jewish Congress as saying that the West accepted your reelection as ODS chairman as a gesture of assurance that it needed. Why?

[Klaus] I do not know whether the world needed a sign of this type. Nevertheless, I believe that, for a world so desperately seeking signs of stability and continuity, such a thing must be a certain sign of stability. This is particularly true in comparison with other postcommunist countries.

[Dengler] Deputy Chairman Strasky had no time to devote to party politics; the same applies, I believe, to Mr. Vlach [ODS deputy chairman]; according to external demonstrations, the relationship between you and Mr. Zieleniec [ODS deputy chairman], is rather tense; and Petr Cermak [ODS deputy chairman], in my opinion, is—because of certain scandals—a risky member of the ODS leadership. How do you feel about it?

[Klaus] I would characterize each of these four gentlemen differently than you did. I do not perceive Petr Cermak as a risky member of the ODS leadership. It is a different matter entirely whether I think that someone should or should not get involved in a soccer club, but I would not draw from it any conclusions regarding a potential risk.

Similarly, it cannot be described as Petr Cermak's vulnerability, if his wife—incidentally, a university graduate in agriculture—becomes involved in private farming instead of working as an agriculturist in some cooperative. Thus, I do not see any risk there, except perhaps for him working in a risky job at the ODS. His job [first deputy chairman], as opposed to that of the other three deputy chairmen, involves meeting on a daily basis with thousands of details, on which he has to pass a yes-no decision. There is always someone on the other side, who can express his dissatisfaction over the unfavorable decision by voting. I would not take it any other way. In my congress address, I stated that, thanks to their

characteristic make-up, the contribution of each of the deputy chairmen is irreplaceable. Thus, I believe that this composition more or less corresponds to the structure of the opinion, type, and style within the ODS. The attention paid by Deputy Chairman Vlach to the ODS and parliament is completely logical, and I believe it to be correct that one of the deputy chairmen is a strong representative of the parliament. Ministers Zieleniec and Strasky certainly get much less done in the day to day ODS work than an efficient deputy chairman would, but I believe that their political endeavors on executive boards and elsewhere are obvious and very useful.

[Dengler] I believe that you have "put down" Minister Zieleniec three times, only in recent weeks. You have reduced his words regarding the advance compensation for victims of Nazism to a mere undecided sign. You also lavishly praised the adamant reaction by Milan Uhde in the FRG, although Minister Zieleniec unequivocally commented on the Sudeten issue—without your comment—earlier. I see it as a contradiction.

[Klaus] I believe that yours are completely unnecessary conjectures. Mr. Uhde simply expressed something just a few days ago, and I reacted the next day. To derive any comparative conclusions from this—among politicians, that is—is rather misleading. Uhde's statement resounded—obstreperously—on German soil, and so, I believe, it gained in value. The language of the statement may have been more clear and less political. Until you asked this question, however, I would not have dreamt of relating the praise for Uhde's stand with the foreign minister.

Regarding the opinion on the compensation, I would not say that I had put down the foreign minister. All I did is to simply state that this has not been subject to any talks, and in this sense, it has the signal effect generated by one member of the cabinet. Of course, we have been considering this idea for a long time. In September, I believe, I myself distributed theses regarding our relations to the Sudeten Germans, and Germany in general, among several colleagues in the government. Here, I offered a thesis that it might be worth it to renounce the compensation because I am afraid that it would be more of a burden for the future than a settlement of the past. One of the recipients of this text of mine was the foreign minister. There has not been any further discussion on this topic at any level since, so it "is dormant" in this state. It seems to be a great exaggeration to speak of denigrating someone.

[Dengler] You also said that compensation is mostly a matter to be dealt with by the ministers of finance, and labor and social affairs. Hence, it seems that the political role of the foreign minister was bypassed. This, too, can be deduced from what you say.

[Klaus] No, I simply do not deduce this.

[Dengler] Do you believe that a Macek-Zieleniec coalition, or alliance, could emerge in the newly elected Executive Board of the ODS, as the ODS congress indicated? They came up—as opposed to you—with the suggestion of creating a long-term and a short-term ODS program.

[Klaus] Any hypothetical coalitions seem to me a tremendous exaggeration, and I do not believe that such a threat exists. The consideration about the emphasis in our congress talks has certainly been vented in our executive councils and political boards in the presence of both the men you mentioned, and there has not been any discussion between us or any controversy of this type. I believe that the use of certain alternative terms was more of a matter of typical electoral rhetorics as they were uttered just minutes before the election of this or that person, and I believe that, thanks to these terms, they both managed to get a few more votes than they would without them. I must say that at all previous talks, where both Josef Zieleniec and Miroslav Macek were mostly present, the emphasis for the congress was put on two levels—the response to the criticism for the so-called turn to the left or the dearth of the right-wing orientation of the ODS, and the other very important topic was how we fulfill or do not fulfill our election program in a situation when we are the strongest party but without the absolute majority of 51 percent of the votes. This was the planned strategy. Simply—we could have also agreed to dedicate the congress to a slightly different topic. Nevertheless, this was the consciously selected strategy, and I believe it is the right one.

[Dengler] Have you acquainted the president, who sent a letter to the congress, with its results?

[Klaus] We spoke on the phone.

[Dengler] So, you did not have the time to reach a consensus regarding the constitutional arrangement? The congress confirmed the ODS priority of reforming the state administration first, and only then creating higher autonomous units, while Vaclav Havel asserts that the state administration and self-administration can be dealt with concurrently.

[Klaus] I do not see why precisely the presidential sphere of discussion should be dominant in solving the problem of constitutional arrangement. I believe that the discussion and the search are currently conducted elsewhere. For me, of course, the government level is dominant now, and you must be aware of the government dealing with this issue very intently.

[Dengler] Why did the coalition not support the motion of the opposition that parliament deal with the implementation of the government policy?

[Klaus] That is a question to which I can reply Why should it? Why should it support such a motion? If I ask for an assessment of this or that, I do it with a certain hint of reproach in my voice. If the government coalition deputies do not feel the need of assessing the implementation of the government policy, I do not see it as

anything unusual—rather the opposite, I see it as logical, and similarly, I understand the opposition making such a motion.

[Dengler] I perceived it as an opportunity for the government to pass onto the parliament the assessment you have presented to the ODS congress just a few days ago—as an opportunity to tell the public how the government approaches the solution to crucial problems.

[Klaus] I believe that the government continually informs the public regarding the fulfillment of its policy and does not see the least reason why to do it in a special act.

[Dengler] A public opinion survey indicates that 80 percent of people consider large businessmen are crooks from the past, and other unflattering figures follow. At the same time, most citizens support the economic reform. How would you assess these results?

[Klaus] There are many public opinion surveys, and so many questions are asked that, in my opinion, it is impossible to draw any fundamental conclusions from them. I admire those who know that the businessmen are this or that. I would not ever dare to make such a statement. I could say that I know five, 10, or 20 businessmen of whom I believe that they are so or so, but I would not dare to generalize. Moreover, I certainly would not judge our businessmen so harshly.

[Dengler] You do not perceive these results as a certain rather dangerous sign that could discredit the economic reform?

[Klaus] I consider it an external and imprecise assessment that is not substantiated by any empirical data. It is more like a fad. It is fashionable to say that businessmen are evil, shortsighted, and greedy. I do not consider it a penetrating sociological probe into our reality.

[Dengler] There is a topic, much discussed at the congress, that found a vociferous response in the coalition. Moreover, Archbishop Vlk, asserted that political views have been attributed to churches and that they are given discriminating conditions. His statement came just three days after the congress. What is your opinion?

[Klaus] I do not know what I am to assess. That is up to you journalists. It is a simple fact that the church property has not been discussed much at the congress, and there is nothing I can add. I promise that I have not conducted any analysis in this respect of the reaction from the coalition parties.

[Dengler] Would you agree with Vaclav Benda's opinion that this problem could be legislatively settled by the first half of 1995?

[Klaus] No comment.

[Dengler] Can you comment on one item in the congress resolution, that is the possibility of an amendment to the screening law?

[Klaus] To assess the possibility means no more and no less. I understand it so that some of our members are very frustrated because the screening law was adopted and yet they witness instances of it simply not being implemented. I do not know whether this requires a change in the law or just a utilization of all legitimate means in compelling the implementation of the law. I believe that the latter should suffice, but I am not a legislative purist to make a conclusive statement on the topic.

[Dengler] You believe that it is up to the coalition parties to state in what they agree, and where they disagree with the ODS. The situation is, as you said in Koprivnice, too serious. How?

[Klaus] You are asking about the entire one and a half hour speech, wherein do I see the fragility of our situation, and wherein do I see the necessity to avoid crushing this fragile creation by some careless intervention. I do not know what to add. I would be really glad if the coalition parties clearly formulated this fragility of the objective we all really desire, and if they—before they pass any judgments—at least read my speech and did not comment on hearsay.

RFE Official on Prospects for Moving to Prague

AU0912185593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 8 Dec 93 p 2

["li"-signed report: "Radio Free Europe Will Probably Move to Prague"]

[Text] Prague— Following talks held thus far between Czech Government officials, representatives of the U.S. Administration, members of the U.S. Congress, and the Radio Free Europe [RFE] and Radio Liberty management, the Munich headquarters of the two radio stations is likely to be relocated to Prague.

RFE representatives expect to receive soon an authorization from the U.S. Foreign Broadcast Committee, on the basis of which they would agree with the Czech side the specific terms of the two radio stations' relocation to Prague, Pavel Pechacek, director of RFE's Czech service, told MLADA FRONTA DNES.

If the committee issues the authorization, an agreement on the RFE's and Radio Liberty's relocation to Prague could be reached by the end of January, according to Pechacek. The final decision on relocating the radio stations' headquarters will require an approval from the Congress, the U.S. State Department, and the National Security Council.

Pavel Pechacek does not expect any insurmountable obstacles to arise in the talks with the Czech side. The director of the Czech service is of the opinion that, in the event of these talks being successful, prospects of the U.S. institutions' affirmative reply would also be good.

Government quarters in Prague support the relocation of the RFE and Radio Liberty to the Czech Republic. The building of the former Federal Assembly would be the most likely new headquarters of the two radio stations.

The complete relocation of the two radio stations from Munich to Prague would take about one year and a half, according to Pechacek. If the decision is made within the next few months, some of the 21 RFE and Radio Liberty departments would undoubtedly start broadcasting from Prague next year.

The RFE's Czech service will definitely move to Prague in 1994. The number of its employees will be cut and the air time will be reduced. The United States counts on Czech broadcasts being retained until at least 1996.

Government Approves Privatization Projects

AU1012082093 Prague CTK in English 1756 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Privatisation projects worth two billion crowns (about 67 million USD) were approved by the government today.

Premier Vaclav Klaus said the government did not approve companies which will be privatised by the voucher method.

Klaus also said that the government had paid close attention to how the process of issuing Czech citizenship had gone in connection with registration for the second privatisation wave.

Czech citizenship is necessary for registering privatisation voucher booklets, and this problem had affected Slovaks having long-term residence in the Czech Republic who wanted to take part in the second wave of privatisation.

We followed the situation very closely, and were not informed of any problem of a notable extent, Klaus said. Registration of voucher booklets ends today at 7:00 P.M.

6 Million Register for Coupons

AU1012080593 Prague CTK in English 1208 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—As many as 6,074,000 people registered for the second wave of coupon privatization, before places registering coupon booklets closed down at 7.00 P.M. on December 8, Director of the Coupon Privatization Center Jaroslav Lizner told CTK today.

He said this was a preliminary number which was likely to drop after duplicate registrations are eliminated.

In the first wave of coupon privatization, 5,977,466 Czech nationals registered.

Coupon holders will be able to invest their coupons either through investment funds, 353 of which registered for the second wave, or can invest their points altogether 1,000 directly in companies. A definitive list of enterprises is expected to be available next February.

Parliament Approves Housing, Insurance Bills

AU1012080293 Prague CTK in English 1736 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—The Czech Parliament today passed, with several changes, the government bill on housing benefit, which will provide rent subsidies to people on low incomes after rents are liberalised on January 1, 1994.

Housing benefit will be payable to people with incomes of up to thirty percent above the sustenance level. Unless renters are aged over 72 or are invalid, the benefits will stop after two years, after which time it is hoped that people will have balanced their budgets to cope with paying a higher portion of their income in rent than hitherto.

The benefit will be paid on the basis of a request submitted by the renter.

The government amendment to the law on insurance, passed by parliament today, establishes the type of reserves which every insurance company must have to cover the risks issuing from insurance agreements negotiated with clients.

Insurance companies will also be required to provide proof of solvency to an auditor's office to be created by the Finance Ministry.

Soldiers Union Chairman on Talks With Baudys

AU1012080393 Prague CTK in English 1700 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Prague Dec 9 (CTK)—Pressing for all career soldiers to be seen as individuals in uniforms and standing for its members' and their families' social and professional rights are the primary tasks sought by the Czech Union of Professional Soldiers, Chairman Jan Kriz said today.

The union is trying to communicate with army chiefs and Defence Minister Antonin Baudys, but without much success, Kriz said, adding that during his recent meeting with union leaders, Baudys said there were about 13 different organisations purporting to help with the building of a new Czech Army. Baudys must first take note of their demands, Kriz said.

A Union-initiated September meeting of leaders of these organisations resulted in the foundation of a coordinating association in which, Kriz said, eight organisations catering to the needs of both active and retired soldiers take part, with another two having observer status.

The association wrote to Baudys asking him to meet its representatives, but has received no reply, Kriz said.

The almost 3,700-strong Union lists career soldiers, voluntary reenlists, persons eligible for call-up and retired soldiers, and boasts another 3,000 sympathisers. Union members have founded 208 military clubs at postings across the country. The union is a member of the European Organisation of Military Associations, in which 14 countries take part.

Parliament Backs UNPROFOR Unit Expansion

AU1012081393 Prague CTK in English 1945 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—The Czech Parliament today ratified the government resolution to extend the Czech contingent to the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] peacekeeping force in former Yugoslavia to 1,000 men.

The government resolution of November 3 provides for the present 500-strong foot-soldier contingent to be changed into a larger mechanised platoon with more armoured personnel carriers, a sapper unit for mine clearance and construction work and a field hospital.

Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec defended the bill in parliament by emphasising that the Czech platoon was highly appreciated by the UN. Proof of this was, among other things, the decision to appoint Czech military staff to the command of the south sector next year. Zieleniec warned that any attempt to limit Czech participation would harm the country's repute abroad.

The normal size of a contingent is 1,000 men. The half-strength Czech contingent had, however, been assigned the same tasks as a full-strength unit and therefore was badly over-stretched, Zieleniec said.

Zieleniec described the Czech contingent's tasks as being to monitor the cease-fire, ensure that the corridor for humanitarian aid remained open and protect the Croatian minority from attack.

UN forces have been deployed in Yugoslavia since March 1992. The UNPROFOR force is made up of units from 31 countries, including the Czech Republic.

Zieleniec on Advantages of EC Association Accord

AU1012081793 Prague CTK in English 1646 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—A fundamental element of the Association Agreement between the European Community and the Czech Republic is that, besides outlining a standard goal, namely the creation of a free trade zone, it provides for mutual cooperation in the fields of political dialogue, culture, science and technology, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec told parliament today.

Zieleniec also explained the process of creating contract relations between the Czech Republic and the EC which led to the above-mentioned agreement, which was signed on October 4. This agreement, he said, replaced the agreements of a lower category between the former Czechoslovakia and the countries of the European Economic Community, the European Community for Atomic Energy and the European Community of Iron and Steel.

The starting point for the negotiation of these agreements was the text of the European agreement made by the former Czechoslovakia, and the data concerning the Federation had been divided between both successor states, Zieleniec said.

Zieleniec explained that the Czechoslovak federal agreement and the associative agreements with Hungary and Poland concluded in the first wave differed from the Czech agreement in that the latter contained a non-accompanying or suspensive clause. This allowed one contracting party to break the continuation of the agreement in urgent cases. The text of the agreement defines urgent cases as those in which the basic undertakings of the agreement are seriously broached by the second party. This, Zieleniec said, was related to the condition concerning the respecting of democratic principles and human rights. He said the Czech Republic had pushed for the European agreement to be supplemented by a unilateral declaration by the European Community concerning the community's policy in the area of human rights.

Zieleniec said he considered the bringing of Czech law into harmony with EC law to be one of the essential long-term tasks. This activity, whose success is a necessary condition for the full integration of the Czech Republic into a strong Europe, requires the continuous attention of many specialists, Zieleniec said.

Havel Criticizes Bosnian Peace Talks

AU0912150993

[Editorial Report] Czech newspapers on 8 December report on President Havel's critical remarks, made on 7 December, on current Bosnian peace talks.

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 8 December on page 3 carries a 300-word CTK report on the reception of Swedish Defense Minister Andres Bjork by President Vaclav Havel at Prague Castle on 7 December. The report states that "Havel and Bjork both criticized Europe's approach thus far toward the situation on the territory of former Yugoslavia because, in their opinion, this approach denies what should represent the basic unifying idea. According to Havel, this should be the restoration of a civic society in Yugoslavia and not consent to division along ethnic lines. The two sides also agreed in their assessment of the U.S. 'Partnership for Peace' initiative. Havel and Bjork, who ended a two-day official visit to the Czech Republic yesterday, voiced the view that first it was necessary to ascertain whether this initiative was 'the waiting room of NATO or a ticket somewhere else.' The NATO summit in January should give a reply to these questions, in their opinion."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 8 December on page 2 carries a 400-word "ben"-signed report entitled "Havel and Klestil Fear Proliferation of the Bosnian War." According to the report, at a news conference held in Prague on 7 December, at the close of his official visit to the Czech Republic, Austrian President Thomas Klestil "expressed fear of the Bosnian conflict spreading to other areas, in a situation where brute military force and the resulting ethnic cleansing and expulsion of the population remain unpunished. The Austrian president deplored that Europe has not shown the ability of greater integration as far as a solution to the Yugoslav situation is concerned. He stressed, however, that the European Union or other specific organizations could not be blamed for the crisis in Bosnia.

"According to Vaclav Havel, the international community should not confine itself to humanitarian aid. The Czech president expressed himself in favor of pondering anew the purpose and aim of the ongoing peace talks and the principles guiding these talks. 'One should not accept the principle of ethnically clean states and fix the borders of states that have been won by ethnic armies in a war,' Havel said."

Mitterrand, Klaus Discuss Situation in Russia

LD0912205893 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Excerpts] French President Francois Mitterrand spent today in Prague at the invitation of President Vaclav Havel. Pavla Jazairiova presents a summary of his visit. [passage omitted]

[Jazairiova] After lunch with the Czech president, President Mitterrand visited Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, with whom he exchanged views on the two countries' attitude toward the European Union, European security, and the set up in Europe. The talks were a follow-up to the Czech prime minister's recent visit to France and focused, in particular, on the present situation in Russia. This is what Klaus said on this subject:

[Begin Klaus recording] We agreed that the process of creating a normal political, social, and economic system in Russia is set to extend over an entire era and will not, therefore, be confined to one election. Thus, even though we hope that the elections will result in certain clarification of the Russian political scene, I think that—no, I do not think it, I am able to say with all responsibility—that neither President Mitterrand nor I expect some kind of radical reversal to take place, and that is why both of us are inclined to warn against simplified interpretations by some media, which expect that elections will take place and a normal political situation will come about. [end recording]

[Jazairiova] But today's visit by the French president concerned, first and foremost, cultural relations between France and the Czech Republic. Mitterrand and Havel opened the new French Institute in Prague this afternoon. They also opened the seminar: Paris-Prague, Intellectuals in Europe. [passage omitted]

Presidents Havel and Mitterrand recalled the history of our mutual relations. Havel emphasized the role of France—which has always been a source of inspiration for us—the intellectual strength of France, and its role in Europe. He recalled Mitterrand's courage and his importance as a human rights defender and his role in European unification and expressed hope that the continuity of an ideal would become reality one day.

In his long speech, Mitterrand also recalled relations between the two countries and developments that kept these countries apart over the course of 49 years. He said, among other things, that there was no real division between us these days and that it was up to us to find ways of forming institutions and a community system that would integrate all the peoples of Europe. Cooperation among these peoples would be based on democracy and human rights. The Europe of tomorrow—one of the largest areas in the world created freely by people—is a question of common will and imagination.

After 1700, Mitterrand departed by air for Brussels, where he will take part in the European Community summit.

Meciar Refuses Comment on Zlata Idka Speech

AU1012082393 Prague CTK in English 0747 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 8 (CTK)—In a television programme last night, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar refused to comment on whether or not his recorded speech in Zlata Idka, recently published by the daily SLOVENSKY VYCHOD, was authentic.

In his November 27 speech, Meciar addressed officials of his Movement for A Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) to outline HZDS's political strategy. Speaking on possible HZDS tactics in the event of early parliamentary elections, Meciar reportedly said that in such case the HZDS was able to "hammer" everybody.

Last night, Meciar stated that a sound record cannot serve as any evidence, as it has no testifying value. Who else will besmirch the Slovak political scene and for how long? Who has been bugging the HZDS political talks and by what right? Who managed to record my address and then, in the published article, joined its individual parts to other texts?, asked Meciar. Earlier Meciar insisted he had not read the mentioned text. It is grossly immoral, I despise it and refuse to have anything to do with it, Meciar stressed.

* * *

NATO membership continues to remain Slovakia's goal, Meciar said in the same programme. He added that NATO was demanding, among other things, by changes in Slovakia's military equipment. For the time being, Slovakia has at its disposal only the equipment of the former Warsaw Pact, which was created to oppose NATO, Meciar stated.

HZDS Blames Press 'Manipulation'

AU1012080993 Prague CTK in English 2023 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 9 (CTK)—The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) looks upon the public controversy surrounding Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's "closed door" speech in Zlata Idka as manipulation by the press, says a statement given to CTK today by HZDS spokeswoman Ivana Salczerova.

Recently, the dailies SLOVENSKY VYCHOD, SME and SLOVENSKY DENNIK published, from unspecified sources, an alleged transcript of Meciar's speech in which he talked about the party's tactics towards other parties and his mobilisation of three east Slovakian units in October in preparation for a possible declaration of autonomy by Subcarpathian Rus. Meciar also mentioned foreign policy strategy, saying, we are being quiet at the moment, creating a calming impression on people abroad, and not playing the highest trump cards at home in order to calm down people abroad. When they calm down, it will be another situation.

The transcript has caused a considerable stir amongst the opposition and in the media, but Meciar himself has said nothing as yet about its authenticity. The material, as it was published, was purposefully and one-sidedly put together from individual parts of Meciar's speech, so as to make the speech sound like an insult to the leaders of other political parties and leaders, and to increase the tension on the Slovak political scene, the HZDS statement says.

We are disappointed that the other political parties have not taken up a standpoint concerning such practices. In not doing so, they are condoning the sort of game which can be used by any party to attack another, the statement continues. The HZDS Press Department said it considered it essential that the above-mentioned newspapers proved the authenticity of the transcript they had published.

KDH's Simko on Speech

AU0912201293 Prague CTK in English 1340 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 9 (CTK)—The contents of the speech delivered recently by Premier Vladimir Meciar in Zlata Idka, east Slovakia, surpassed all Meciar's appearances so far, which contributed to shaping Slovakia's image abroad, Ivan Simko, deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement said today.

Addressing a meeting of the representatives of his Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) on November 27, Meciar outlined HZDS's political strategy. Speaking on HZDS tactics in the event of early parliamentary elections, he reportedly said that in such a case the HZDS would be able to, hammer, everybody.

Simko said that the contents of the speech was most disquieting, as it indicated his real intentions, which he had tried to keep secret before the public. Such was the practice of communist politicians. Words aimed at the public differed from those destined for favoured functionaries of the Communist Party, Simko noted. He stressed that the information on Meciar's speech had been disclosed by the participants in the Idka meeting, as they began to be aware of the danger posed by Meciar's policy. It is HZDS members who should initiate Meciar's dismissal, as they have supported him thus far and are partly responsible for his deeds, Simko stated.

Press Comments on Speech

AU0912173093

[Editorial Report] Several Slovak newspapers on 6 December publish commentaries on the recent publication of a transcript of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's address to Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] activists from east Slovakia, delivered at Zlata Idka at the end of October. Some of these commentaries express the fear that the speech will have "serious repercussions for the state" and call on President Kovac to take a stand on Meciar's remarks.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 6 December on page 3 carries the following 300-word excerpt from a commentary by Daniel Butora that was broadcast by Radio Free Europe's Slovak-language service:

"The words by the chief of the Slovak executive branch not only demonstrate efforts to corrupt the Catholic Church; they not only laconically affirm that local HZDS activists can cooperate with the chairmen of district offices in preparing communal elections because all of them are from the ruling movement; they not only admit that the Slovak Heritage Foundation, this erstwhile national institution, clearly supports the HZDS, for which it received free of charge the best book-printing plant in Slovakia; they not only disclose that the Slovak Writers' Association is another satellite of the ruling movement; they not only confess that the HZDS had financed the election campaign of the Green Party in Slovakia; and they not only announce—and this is perhaps the most momentous revelation of all—that, in the event of early elections, Vladimir Meciar is ready to steamroller everyone and will, in his own words, come up with more formidable trump cards, without showing any regard for those abroad. It would have been possible to surmise and see all these things, and many others, as early as two years ago. It is something else that is really shocking—the unconcealed and arrogant conviction that a political organization has the right to control the entire state and the fact that the Slovak prime minister not only does not honor the words about a civic society and its autonomous bodies, but that he does not even pretend to have assimilated them."

Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak on 6 December on page 2 carries a 700-word Juraj Hrabko commentary entitled "Satellites." The commentator warns that, in view of the possible geopolitical consequences, the publication of the prime minister's "train of thought must not be taken lightly." He continues: "The prime minister's speech at Zlata Idka has clearly shown that the transformation of communist thinking and practices is just a chimera. It is simply inadmissible in a democratic country—and, for the time being, Slovakia is a democratic country—for the prime minister to boast about having bamboozled international institutions, to accuse them of blackmail, and so forth. It is impossible to enter European politics by implementing provincial policy. Even if the prime minister denied his words every day, he would never erase the shame that he has brought upon Slovakia.

"The other government members, the coalition partner, and deputies ought to take the consequences from this—they should not condemn Meciar, but drop him. And the president himself should deliver a keynote speech to citizens and the international community, since not reacting to the prime minister's intentions means identifying with them."

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 6 December on page 4 carries a 600- word Michal Parizek commentary entitled "Half-Life." The commentator voices the assumption that "the publication and subsequent scandalization of the prime minister's speech at Zlata Idka will have serious repercussions for the state, even in the more distant future." He views as "serious" the fact that "the affair blew up immediately before the debate on the draft state budget, on the adoption of which directly depends the further existence of the government." Parizek continues: "The speech blatantly exposed the true relations within the HZDS-Slovak National Party [SNS] coalition, which is supposed to guarantee the passage of the budget. Zlata Idka has rendered it impossible, once and for all, for the HZDS and the SNS to present in public any agreement on mutual relations. After the prime minister's statement that the HZDS's tasks in districts is to take over the greater part of, or the entire, SNS membership base, Ludovit Cernak will hardly be able to continue asserting that this is a serious coalition of two equal partners."

Parizek believes that, if the coalition falls apart and the government loses its parliamentary majority, a vote of no confidence in the government or the calling of early elections is likely to follow. To conclude, he says:

"If the opposition now decides to initiate the process of changing the government, which would put the brakes on the economic transformation for at least six months, it has a perfect opportunity to do that. The Slovak Heritage Foundation, the Congress of Slovak Intelligentsia, and other formally independent organizations are discredited because it has become apparent that they live on quiet support from the HZDS and because the public's sympathy for them is drastically declining. The opposition will have to consider, however, whether it can bear such a responsibility."

Weekly Reports 'Secret' Weiss-Meciar Talks

AU1012081893 Prague CTK in English 1535 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Kosice, East Slovakia Dec 8 (CTK)—Democratic Left Party (SDL) Chairman Peter Weiss reportedly met secretly with Slovak Premier and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Chairman Vladimir Meciar several weeks ago and agreed not to support a proposed parliamentary vote of no confidence in Meciar that the opposition had already agreed on, writes the weekly DOMINO EFEKT in its latest issue. While the opposition agreed a few weeks ago on Meciar's removal, while a significant part of the HZDS and the Slovak National Party (SNS) had already agreed to it, while Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic had practically packed up—at this key moment Weiss and Meciar held secret talks, the weekly writes.

According to the publication, Meciar told Weiss that in exchange for the SDL not supporting Meciar's removal, the HZDS would secure the invalidity of the screening law and the failure of the law on anti-communist resistance and would not investigate the legal integrity of property owned by the SDL. Peter Weiss accepted this

deal without a peep, the weekly writes, adding that with regard to voter preferences a post-election coalition between Meciar and Weiss was being formed. If today the HZDS and the SNS—that is, communists and nationalists—govern Slovakia, then tomorrow the HZDS and the SDL—that is, "only" communists and communists—will probably rule, the weekly concludes.

SDL Denies Agreement

AU1012081993 Prague CTK in English 1750 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 8 (CTK)—Tibor Kruzlik, advisor to Democratic Left Party (SDL) Chairman Peter Weiss, told CTK today that he sees no reason why the SDL should officially respond to the allegations of the Slovak weekly DOMINO EFEKT.

In its latest issue, the publication reported that several weeks ago Weiss held a secret meeting with Slovak Premier and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Chairman Vladimir Meciar. Kruzlik said that the story is from bizarre sources and is overly speculative. According to the weekly, Meciar and Weiss agreed at the meeting that the SDL would not support the opposition's plans to remove Meciar if the HZDS would ensure the invalidity of the screening law and the failure of the law on anti-communist resistance and would not investigate the legal integrity of SDL property.

Kruzlik said that the SDL, Slovakia's largest opposition party, favours the clear resolution of questions surrounding its property, and that while it did of course hold talks with other political parties, it did not conclude any agreement like the one described in DOMINO EFEKT.

Poll Reveals Most Citizens Opposed to Elections

AU1012080693 Prague CTK in English 1218 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 9 (CTK)—Forty-six percent of Slovaks are against the early elections that some opposition politicians demand, a poll conducted by the Slovak Statistical Office in early November revealed. Only 24 percent of those polled favour this option, while 30 percent have no view on the matter.

NBS Deputy Governor Sees 'No Reason' To Resign

AU1012080893 Prague CTK in English 2138 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 8 (CTK)—Slovak National Bank (NBS) Vice-Governor Marian Tkac sees no reason to step down from his post, he said today in an interview with Slovak Radio. Tkac was responding to a statement made by Premier Vladimir Meciar, who said that there were more than enough reasons for Tkac to be dismissed. Tkac's name has come up in the media in connection with the issuing of a letter of credit that allegedly lost Slovakia 4.2 million U.S. dollars. I still believe that this is a big misunderstanding, Tkac said, adding that he would explain the matter. He said that the affair was only a peripheral matter.

Slovak Radio said that Meciar had materials at his disposal that could discredit Tkac. Tkac himself, however, thinks that no such documents exist, because, he said, if Meciar had them, he would use them. If Tkac does not voluntarily resign from his position, Meciar intends to submit a proposal for his dismissal to parliament. Slovak Radio reported that he would use the given documents, whose authenticity and credibility is now being verified, as evidence.

Lexa Protests Publication of Defamation Charge

AU1012082193 Prague CTK in English 2156 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 7 (CTK)—State Secretary to the Slovak Privatisation Ministry Ivan Lexa said that the disclosure of his full name in connection with a defamation charge brought against him by the Bratislava municipal investigator today was a "spit" in the face of the Slovak legal system. In a statement given to CTK by Ondrej Hanko, director of the Press Department of the Government Office, Lexa says that after carefully studying all the published materials, he will implement his legal rights. The presumption of innocence protects criminal suspects, even murderers, by the publication of only their initials, or at the most their first name and last initial, Lexa says in the statement.

Interior Ministry spokesman Peter Kuchar told Slovak Radio today that Jaroslav Ivor, director of the ministry's Police Corps Office of Investigations, did not name Lexa at today's press conference held in connection with the charging of an employee of the Government Office of defaming the republic and one of its officials.

In its afternoon programme Radiozurnal, Slovak Radio said that Lexa had been charged with defamation. In an interview with CTK today, Ivor said that the Bratislava Municipal Office of Investigation had brought a charge of defamation of the republic and one of its officials against Lexa. The charge, Ivor said, was brought on the basis of a recommendation from the prosecutor general and ensued from Lexa's statements published in the dailies SMENA and REPUBLIKA and made at a Government Office press conference. In these statements, Lexa is alleged to have cast doubt on the morals of the president and his professional capabilities in connection with his age. Ivor said that some of the statements had been on the border or beyond the border of what is ethical.

Finance Ministry Denies Devaluation Plans

AU1012161593 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 8 Dec 93 p 2

[TA SR report: "Devaluation Is Not Being Considered"]

[Text] Bratislava— Preparations for the devaluation of the Slovak koruna [Sk] are not being considered at the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic [MF SR], says an MF SR statement that was made available to the TA SR yesterday. The MF SR considers the act of devaluation so serious as to require consultations with the IMF at the highest level and the ministry would be informed about preparations for it. The MF SR expresses surprise over the repeated publication of reports in the mass media about the Sk's possible devaluation. These reports are not grounded in reality. At the same time, the MF SR does not know any sources close to the ministry that could provide information of this kind and comment on issues concerning changes in the exchange rate.

Toth: Republic To Reassess Trade With Czechs

AU1012082293 Prague CTK in English 2124 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 7 (CTK)—The Slovak Republic will have to reassess trade relations and financial exchanges with the Czech Republic, Slovak Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Julius Toth told CTK today.

He was reacting to the five percent devaluation of the Slovak crown against the clearing ECU, effective December 7. He said that the Slovak National Bank had been forced to resort to this move due to the development of the passive balance on the clearing account, which had reached 109 million ECU. The Czech Republic and Slovakia agreed that if the deficit exceeded 130 million ECU, it would be repaid in U.S. dollars. Toth said in this connection that the Slovak Republic had so far never put in question its obligations towards its partners.

He said that an increased inflow of Czech consumer goods to Slovakia, especially before Christmas, was an unfavourable development for Slovakia. He said he believed that Slovak citizens prefer to buy cheaper goods from the Czech Republic than products from other countries. Maybe that euphoria that all that is Western is good has already passed, Toth said.

He pointed to the fact that not all the payments for exported goods returned to Slovakia. That was why a special group would be set up at the Slovak Central Taxation Directorate in 1994 to deal with these capital and financial flows, Toth said.

Toth: Gold Not Only Reason for Currency Split

AU0912211993 Prague CTK in English 2150 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava/Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth has said that gold was not the only reason for the separation of currencies between the Czech and Slovak Republics last February, nevertheless, gold reserves from the Czechoslovak State Bank (SBCS) were transferred to Czech banks in the last quarter of 1992.

In an interview with CTK yesterday, Toth said that these reserves in a mysterious way suddenly appeared in the reserves of the Czech National Bank (CNB).

Information about the transfer of gold reserves towards the end of existence of the former Czechoslovak Federation leaked to the public, owing to the publication of a tape-recorded speech by Premier Vladimir Meciar by several Slovak papers. In his recent address Meciar reportedly said that the currency was speedily separated after gold had begun to disappear from the Czech National Bank, and had been transferred to Czech commercial banks which were not subject to the division of property.

According to Toth, more problems registered by the Czech and Slovak National Banks led to the currency separation. Nevertheless, he expressed surprise at the growth of gold reserves in the Czech Republic whilst it registered a trade deficit in the U.S. dollar area. Referring to reports on the volume of foreign capital entry into the Czech Republic, he described this fact as a miracle.

Reacting to Toth's affirmations, Martin Svehla, press spokesman of the Czech National Bank, told CTK today that SBCS' gold reserves were 105 tons over the entire year 1992 (the same as in previous years). From this total amount, some 70 percent were deposited in Czechoslovakia, and the rest, abroad.

By December 31, 1992, all this amount was divided 2:1 in the presence of representatives of the National Bank of Slovakia (NBS). This statement can be checked by comparing the regularly published balance sheets of SBCS, CNB, and NBS, said Svehla. Changes referring to the, gold, items show current swap operations, as well as the changing prices of gold and the changing exchange rates between the U.S. dollar and the Czechoslovak (Czech, Slovak) crown.

Andrejcak: Meeting of Visegrad Ministers Canceled

AU1012080193 Prague CTK in English 1838 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] London Dec 9 (CTK)—Slovak Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcak today ended a three-day official visit to Great Britain and returned home.

Upon his arrival in Bratislava, Andrejcak told journalists that an expert group from Britain would soon come to Slovakia to elaborate a plan of cooperation between the Slovak and British Armed Forces and help in drafting principles of parliamentary and civic control over the armed forces and the relevant legislation.

Andrejcak said that during his visit to Britain he held talks with military specialists concerning cooperation between the two countries' armies, the orientation of

Slovak foreign policy activities, privatisation, and Slovak ideas about cooperation and about the U.S. Partnership for Peace plan. He acquainted his partners with Slovakia's intention to extend the Slovak sapper unit serving with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] in the former Yugoslavia.

He said the possibility of training Slovak Army experts in British military educational institutions and the participation of Slovak airmen in the British Royal Air Force Days were also discussed. Andrejcak also said that a meeting of the defence ministers of the Visegrad Group countries scheduled Friday [10 December] in Krakow was called off. Andrejcak explained that he had discussed the possibility of such a meeting with Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur at their last meeting. They agreed then that after the Polish parliamentary elections they would meet with the new Polish defence minister. Andrejcak said that [Polish Defense Minister] Piotr Kolodziejczyk then approved the plan and sent invitations. The four defence ministers had, however, failed to agree.

It is a pity because cooperation between the four Visegrad countries, which are very close to each other is very useful, he said, adding that he did not count on such a meeting by the end of this year.

Mutual Aid Declaration Signed With Germany

AU1012081693 Prague CTK in English 1541 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 8 (CTK)—A Slovak-German declaration on mutual aid in economics was signed today by Slovak Economics Minister Jan Ducky and State Secretary of the German Economics Ministry Walter Kittel.

The declaration contains five specific points to be implemented next year. The first point concerns the support of small and medium-sized businesses in cooperation with the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme. The second point calls for sending experts affiliated with banking and insurance. Further aid concerns agriculture, especially the food and milk industries. Germany wants to help in restructuring the Slovak economy, and possibly with privatisation and conversion.

SDL's Kanis Criticizes Hungarian Policy

AU1012082593 Prague CTK in English 1335 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 8 (CTK)—It is impossible not to see the efforts of Hungarian foreign policy to bring back the state of things somewhere before the 1920 Treaty of Trianon which settled Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations after World War One, Pavol Kanis says in an interview published today in the Slovak opposition daily SME.

Kanis, deputy chairman of the opposition Democratic Left Party (SDL) and member of the Foreign Committee of the Slovak Parliament, is commenting on Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky's statement that Budapest will not sign a bilateral agreement with Slovakia as long as rights of Slovakia's Hungarian ethnic minority are being violated. These problems cannot be revived by returning to history, Kanis stresses. He says it would be good if borders in Central European region were reconfirmed in view of the great systemic and geopolitical changes.

But states can exist even without bilateral agreements, as a European political base has already been established, Kanis notes. Referring to the dispute over the names of Slovak villages inhabited by ethnic Hungarians, Kanis says he considers it logical that the towns and villages have two names, the Slovak one and the original, historical, foreign one. It would be illogical for the Slovak name to be transcribed in Hungarian, he says in SME. He also supports the Hungarian demand that female surnames be acceptable officially without the suffixova. Nothing but problems have arisen for us due to our pseudopatriotism, including that in the area of names, Kanis adds.

Roman Kovac Discusses Foreign Capital in Media

AU1012081493 Prague CTK in English 2122 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 8 (CTK)—The Slovak Government has thus far no view concerning foreign capital entering the Slovak mass media, Slovak Deputy Premier Roman Kovac told CTK today after his meeting with journalists and publishers dedicated to the preparation of a law on media.

Kovac said it was necessary to weigh the current situation, as foreign capital had already entered the Slovak media. He said it would be absolute nonsense to return to nationalisation. Besides, if some restrictions are introduced, it would put those investors who are already participating in Slovakia against those who are yet to come, he said.

Kovac said that several variants of solving the problem of foreign participation in the Slovak media would be proposed by experts and that the optimal solution would be set down in a law on mass media.

He said he was not sure that foreign capital participation should be limited but pointed to the serious risk of the emergence of monopolies. This could threaten journalists' independence not only politically but also economically. Such restrictions are effective in many countries, Kovac said, giving as an example the French law which toughly restricts the entrance of foreign capital into the mass media.

Rights Body Highlights Discrimination

AU1012161893 Prague CTK in English 2304 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Washington Dec 9 (CTK)—Cases of discrimination against ethnic minorities and attempts to limit freedom of the press in Slovakia were singled out in an annual report on human rights by the Helsinki Watch, part of the international group Human Rights Watch.

There is no direct censorship in Slovakia, but there are cases of discrimination against journalists who do not draw a favourable picture of the Slovak Government, the report says. It singles out the Slovak Government's efforts to prevent some critical journalists from attending press conferences, its approach towards the daily SME, and its subsidies to publications inclined towards the government.

Helsinki Watch has also received reports about several cases of discrimination against the Romany minority. These are, for example, the ordinance forbidding Romanies from being on the street at night, issued by the local authority of Spisske Podhradi, East Slovakia, or the decision of a private hotel in Zilina, West Slovakia, to ban Romanies from entering the casino. It also recalled Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's September speech, in which he called Romanies mentally and socially unadaptable.

The Slovak Government was also criticised for some steps against the Hungarian minority, especially regarding the bilingual names of towns and villages in southern Slovak regions populated mostly by Hungarians, and a law restricting the usage of Hungarian first names.

The Slovak Parliament, even before Slovakia's acceptance to the Council of Europe, proposed that Hungarian parents give their children names which could be modified according to Slovak orthography. However, after Slovakia's acceptance Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar refused to sign a relevant law. At the beginning of August, bilingual geographical signs installed before Slovakia's admittance to the Council of Europe were removed. The Slovak Transport Ministry justified the move, saying that bilingual signs would have confused motorists and tourists.

The Helsinki Watch report also criticises the Slovak Government's attempts to discriminate against Trnava University, which is considered an asylum for scientists critical towards the government.

Antall Taking 'Active Part' in Government Work

AU1012092493 Budapest MTI in English 1851 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Budapest, 9 Dec (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who is currently undergoing treatment in a Budapest hospital, is present in the life of the country, and takes an active part in government work. He works several hours a day, and maintains personal and telephone contact with members of the cabinet. The prime minister is much better, with his will-power remaining as strong as ever.

Antall's treatment is going according to the schedule determined by his physicians. Meanwhile a new medical bulletin on the prime minister's condition is expected over the weekend, Government Spokeswoman Judit Juhasz said, at her customary press briefing in Budapest on Thursday [9 December]. [passage omitted]

Parliament Amends Constitution for Defense Law

AU1012112993 Budapest MTI in English 2107 GMT 7 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 7 Dec (MTI)—By an overwhelming majority, the Hungarian Parliament approved amendment of the Constitution in relation to defence law at its plenary session on Tuesday [7 December].

Under the terms of the amendment, the government has authorization to take immediate measures, without having to declare a state of emergency, in cases of intentional violation of Hungary's airspace, unexpected air attacks, or raids by external armed troops against the country.

Another amendment of the Constitution alters the status of the Border Guard. In future, the Border Guard will be an armed law enforcement organization. Its legal standing and scope of authority will be similar to that of the police, in accordance with the legal systems and practice of the European states.

Following the constitution amendment, a lengthy vote began on the defence law, which parliament approved, with one vote against and one abstention, on Tuesday evening.

The law declares defence to be a national cause. The Republic of Hungary can basically rely on its own strength - the resources of its national economy, the preparedness of its armed forces, the commitment of, and sacrifices by, the citizens - for upholding its defence ability.

The law states that parliament, the president of the republic, the government and the minister of defence are authorized to direct defence and the armed forces.

Parliament's scope of authority includes the definition of basic defence principles and the main conditions for the implementation of tasks arising from these principles. Defining the size of the armed forces is also within the scope of parliament's authority.

Under the terms of the defence law, the president of the republic's authority extends to approving the country's armed defence plan on the basis of a report submitted by government. The president also appoints and relieves - on the proposal of the minister of defence - the commander and the chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, as well as - on the proposal of the minister of the interior - the national commander of the Border Guards.

The law significantly expands the scope of authority for the government in connection with defence and the direction of armed forces, operation. The law declares that the government can direct the armed forces directly or through the minister in charge. This means that the government's authority extends to working out the basic principles of national defence, preparing an armed defence plan, defining high- level leadership of the armed forces, and deciding the territorial deployment and weaponry of the army.

The law states that the army will continue to be a standing armed force based on universal conscription. The defence law will come into force on January 1, 1994.

Germany's Vogel Phones Antall, Meets Boross

AU0912111693 Budapest MTI in English 1722 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 8 Dec (MTI)—On behalf of Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, Interior Minister Peter Boross met Thuringian Minister-President (Prime Minister) Bernhardt Vogel in Budapest on Wednesday [8 December).

Boross thanked Vogel for his continual efforts—including those made during his tenure as minister-president of Rheinland-Pfalz—to promote Hungarian-German ties. He pointed out the importance of boosting business ties and expressed Hungary's readiness to sign cooperation agreements on economics, trade and environmental protection. Boross stressed that greater bilateral trade is in the interest of both countries and will help to counter the adverse effects of worldwide recession.

Vogel said Hungary acts as a stabilizer in the East-Central European region, with reform processes in the country proceeding favourably, and the promise of an economic upswing.

Boross pointed out the serious losses Hungary has sustained from economic sanctions against Rump Yugoslavia. He also called attention to the fate of nearly 500,000 ethnic Hungarians living in Vojvodina, briefing Vogel on migration and refugee affairs.

After the talks, Vogel spoke with Antall by telephone and conveyed a message from Chancellor Helmut Kohl. They briefly discussed the latest political developments in Hungary and Germany and expressed mutual regret

over last week's atrocity against Federal President Richard Weizsacker. Vogel concluded by wishing Antall a quick recovery.

Slovakia's Weiss Visits, Discusses Minorities

AU0912111793 Budapest MTI in English 2104 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 8 Dec (MTI)—Deputy Chairman of the Slovak National Council Peter Weiss and members of Hungarian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee came to an agreement that both Budapest and Bratislava should take mutual steps to promote confidence between the two countries. Both sides feel that this would also have beneficial effects on the situation of minorities.

Committee Chairman Laszlo Kovacs said the Slovak politician's report made it clear that the young Slovak state frequently reacts in an overly sensitive manner to certain remarks made in Hungary.

There are those in Bratislava who feel that Hungary wishes to place Slovakia on trial—in connection with the the minorities issue, for example. Peter Weiss and his hosts agreed that mutual-confidence gestures and mutual empathy could rectify the situation. However, the lack of these can strengthen extreme nationalist forces in both Slovakia and Hungary, both sides noted.

Officials Comment on Gabcikova Talks

AU1012081193 Prague CTK in English 1830 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest Dec 8 (CTK)—The positions of Hungary and Slovakia on the division of the Danube's waters near Gabcikovo and supplying the Danube tributaries on the Maly Zitny island remain diametrically opposite, representatives of the two countries' delegations told journalists today.

At a press conference following two-day talks between the Slovak and Hungarian parliamentary committees responsible for the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project on the Danube River, chairman of the Slovak parliamentary committee Juraj Hrasko said that the Slovak delegation did not come to Budapest with the aim of concluding a concrete agreement. He said that that would be premature and non-realistic, as the views of the two sides differed significantly. At the same time, he voiced satisfaction over the results of the Budapest talks, as it was possible to jointly state a positive trend in searching for the solution to the situation. He said the two sides considered it necessary to depoliticise the problem of Gabcikovo. As regards the future, I am a moderate optimist and believe that the solution will be found by the summer of next year, he said.

Chairman of the Hungarian parliamentary committee Andras Pap said that the meeting between the two committees that was held half a year ago took place in a more favourable atmosphere. He said that the activity of a tripartite expert commission (Hungary, Slovakia and the European Community), which was to have found a compromise solution to the division of the Danube's waters, had practically broken down. He said Hungary was concerned about the Slovak side deliberately prolonging talks counting with a certain political change in Budapest, in view of the forthcoming parliamentary elections in Hungary.

Hrasko rejected the allegation that the Slovak side had some political mandate or an intention to knowingly prolong the talks. Talk in corridors about Slovakia's calculating with possible political changes in Hungary was clarified by the two committees, he said. Hrasko stressed that in all its moves, Bratislava ensued from the initial agreement, the validity or non-validity of which is currently being decided by the International Court of Justice in The Hague, and that it pays special attention to environmental questions. Hrasko expressed doubts over Budapest making certain concessions in the framework of the talks.

Hungary and Slovakia have been locked in a dispute over the dam on their border, originally begun by Czechoslovakia and Hungary in 1977. Hungary halted construction on its side after the overthrow of the communists in 1989, and it has demanded Slovakia do the same, as it fears Gabcikovo's operation will alter the course of the Danube and damage the environment. Slovakia has refused, and the dispute is now being considered by the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

Walesa Seeks Broadcasting Council Head Resignation

LD0912173193 Warsaw PAP in English 1445 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 9—President Lech Walesa on Thursday stepped up his demand for the resignation of Marek Markiewicz, head of the National Radio and Television Council, and Council members Maciej Illowiecki and Ryszard Bender.

Speaking in an interview for the Polish Press Agency PAP, President Walesa said that he made a balance sheet of the work of the Council since its inauguration and was looking into the future while making the decision on withdrawing his support for the three men. He hoped this withdrawal of support for Council members nominated on his initiative would lead to their resignation. "I am talking only about those three, and I hope they have enough honour to offer me their resignations," Walesa said.

President Walesa's withdrawal of support for his appointees was first signalled by presidential press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski in a radio interview on Wednesday.

In the interview, Walesa explained he was not satisfied with the transformations leading towards private ownership of radio and TV stations in Poland, a process overseen by the Council. "I am not satisfied, I do not see good prospects, I do not perceive there is understanding and agreement or cooperation with the people of the state-owned television and other circles, so I have no hope for good solutions," Walesa said. "For today the only solution is the decision that I have proposed and will carry out," he added.

Asked about plans of the Pawlak government to replace some provincial governors with new people, President Walesa said he believed such moves were unnecessary. "In my opinion provincial governors should not be nominated or dismissed according to political considerations," he explained.

Walesa also said he was in favour of a limited supervision over the security and intelligence services (UOP, the State Protection Office) to be exercised by people delegated by the president, the prime minister and parliament. At present the UOP, a part of the Interior Ministry, is supervised by the interior minister.

Further on Interview With PAP

LD0912194593 Warsaw PAP in English 1650 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] President Walesa said his recent statement about the need to replace the present parliament with another one should not be understood literally and was not intended as a criticism or a malicious remark. "I do not wish that to happen for this would not be in the interest of parliament or Poland," said Walesa.

He said he had not yet decided whether to be a candidate in the next presidential elections to be held in 1995. His decision will depend on the development of the situation on the Polish political scene, he added. If democracy and pluralism are properly secured, then there will be no need for him to run again, he explained.

Walesa praised his own performance as president in the past three years. He said Poland went through several difficult moments during that time, including the abortive coup in Moscow and the row over secret police files of active politicians. The fact that these dangerous situations did not develop into full-fledged crises should be attributed to Walesa's quick interventions which put matters under control, the president said.

He expected similar difficult moments to occur again in future but voiced his confidence he would be able to control them. "I am determined, I fear nothing, and as long as I am president I will not allow Poland to depart from the adopted course," he stressed.

"As long as I am president Poland will be safe. Nothing will threaten her and no one will disturb the internal situation," Walesa claimed.

Asked about his opinion on the after-effects of the martial law introduced 12 years ago, in December, 1981, Walesa declared: "The great divide between the Poles which was then created continues to have adverse effects and is responsible for our inability to pull ourselves together." At the same time Walesa was rather cautious in his condemnation of the role played by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the main architect of martial law.

On Poland's postulated NATO membership, Walesa said: "I am a practician. We did have quite good international agreements in 1939, but they were on paper. Of course, today one should sign agreements including treaties such as NATO... But first of all, today we should care for economic ties. We need (investments by) General Motors perhaps even more than military generals."

Council Chief on Media, State Reforms, PSL

WS0912133093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Michal Strak, chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers, by Ewa K. Czaczkowska; place and date not given: "We Do Not Fear Anything"]

[Text] [Czaczkowska] Senate Speaker Adam Struzik recently stated that there is an "antigovernment campaign" going on in the mass media whose goal is to lead to the collapse of the power system created by the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] on 19 September. We conclude from one of the polls conducted by our newspaper that PSL politicians tend to favor that view more than those of SLD, whereas representatives of media of different orientations have a different view on that. What is your opinion?

[Strak] The government is not coddled by the media, that is for sure. Some negative aspects of our activity are picked on more, and it is harder for us to get through with positive sides. I think it was a similar situation with the previous government as far as negatives are concerned, but they found it easier to convince the media about positive sides to what they were doing. So I would not say that there is a war going on between the media and the government—and if there really is one, it is less visible from my standpoint than from the standpoint of those who tend to sympathize with the current cabinet. Such individuals may have a natural tendency to see the government they are supporting in a positive light.

[Czaczkowska] So it is my understanding that as the chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM] who "is in the middle," you no longer place certain weeklies on the black list, as you used to when you were a candidate for the post—I read about this in one of the regional papers. What I mean specifically when talking about the black list is WPROST weekly.

[Strak] I have never placed any weekly on any black list. But as far as WPROST is concerned—I think that will be made clear in the latest edition to be published—they fouled once, that is to say they published information that not only put me in a negative light, but was, first of all, totally untrue. I cannot turn a deaf ear to that kind of behavior. So I make a distinction between criticism and fouls. For instance, I do not have any regrets or bad feelings whatsoever against those reporters who took pictures of me in different kinds of situations. When it comes to the reporter who took a picture of me in a deep bow in front of the president, I simply congratulated him on his personal speed, and I did the same thing with regard to the reporter who took a picture of me looking intently into Miss Wachowicz's face. By the way, I think he did that in a funny way.

[Czaczkowska] But could you not influence the prime minister to begin reacting in a similar way and to let reporters take his pictures for instance while drinking beer?

[Strak] No, I could not because I have no impact on the prime minister's behavior. He ranks higher than myself and he could influence me, not the other way around.

[Czaczkowska] You made statements in the past that it is not your intention to control newspapers. So why did you lift a decision by your predecessor Minister Rokita concerning selling off 2 percent of shares in RZECZPOSPOLITA?

[Strak] RZECZPOSPOLITA is a kind of paper that was established under a very specific situation and on specific terms. Apart from that—as far as I know—the paper makes quite extensive use of advertisements and various services by different governmental agencies. And third of all, it has the reputation of being a government paper, and that—let us call it—nature of the paper of being attached to the government is one of the reasons for subscribing to it by many readers. So that means that RZECZPOSPOLITA is a successor of a newspaper that had been created as a government paper, and because of that, it gains financial profits based on that aspect—those profits may be big or small, I do not know that and it is not my business. So when you take that into account, any decision concerning changes in the structure of the paper's capital cannot—in my view—be made like in the case of any other paper.

A change within 2 percent of shares makes it possible to change the paper's decisionmaking centers, providing it happens under a specific scenario like coming to an agreement with Hersant's group. I must say that a kind of restraint by the French in that respect has been noted and evaluated very positively. The way the French shareholders acted was very responsible, but my evaluation of the decision made by my predecessor—which was made two to three weeks before the previous cabinet was to leave office—is quite the opposite.

[Czaczkowska] You said RZECZPOSPOLITA is perceived to be "attached to the government." But we have been trying to prove for three years now that we are not a government paper at all, while no government availed itself of the possibility of publishing their materials in the government's column. What kind of intentions does URM have in relation to RZECZPOSPOLITA?

[Strak] I refuse to talk about intentions at this point.

[Czaczkowska] But you do not deny what you have told TRYBUNA once: "I regard it as a normal state of affairs that the government is criticized by the mass media at some points, and it is applauded by them at other points. Should the government be just applauded and nothing else—that is the first step toward defeat."

[Strak] Of course I confirm that. I think that a government that is supported too much by the press is doomed to failure. The Polish press is not a good reflection of the actual attitude public opinion has toward various persons and agencies active on the political scene. Results of the most recent elections are the exact opposite of what the press had favored, that is to say those parties which had enjoyed the media's support ultimately did not get much out of that at the voting booths. And that is not just a characteristic trait of this time period because the same kind of situation also took place in 1989 when the coalition then in power had all the mass media at their disposal and so they put up television and radio stars as their candidates. I do not share the view of the press having almighty power, and that is perhaps because I myself used to be a journalist and wrote various pieces in the past.

[Czaczkowska] The government made a decision to continue with the pilot program [of transferring some central powers to local governments] but at the same time, the decision to move up by two years the mandatory transfer of public schools to self-governments is an indicator of the self-government reforms being put aside for the moment ....

[Strak] The government never intended to discontinue the reforms, and thanks to it having made the move concerning the pilot program—which was misinterpreted at the beginning—it gained two advantages: Circles of people associated with the country's culture saw that they could be treated not in an instrumental way, but in a serious way and with the government listening to what they have to say. We are not trying to stop the process of transferring schools to self-governments, either—most probably all towns will end up taking control of the schools, but they will do so at their own responsibility. That means that if we have a debate again in six months on the situation of the education system under the new conditions, and if it turns out that not everything is as it should be, it will be hard to say at that point that the government is to blame for everything.

[Czaczkowska] If the powiat [small administrative unit] reform was to be introduced next year, then elections to those self-governments would take place along with elections to gminas [smallest administrative units]. The governing coalition could expect big chances for success in those elections. So what does the coalition fear?

[Strak] We do not fear anything. Our position on self-government elections is not a consequence of assessing our chances in these elections at all. I have reasons to assume that it is precisely the position by the Democratic Union on powiat self-governmental elections that was based on calculations linked to the party's chances of success. They assumed that if their government continues to exist, then they could win the elections—perhaps not in gminas or the countryside, but certainly in towns. It has been our view—and still is—that from the standpoint of the logic behind transforming Polish power structures, the powiats self- government elections are a total misunderstanding. The scenario of events adopted by the previous government provided that effective 1 January 1995 we would already be dealing with powiats and with a new administrative structure at the voivodship level, with the central arrangement subjected to only partial restructurings. So that means that, under that plan, both 1994 and 1995 would represent two years of huge restructuring going on in the country. In my view these plans and measures were irresponsible.

[Czaczkowska] Why is that?

[Strak] Because an accumulation of transformations like this may lead to chaos in the country, unless of course the following doctrine had been adopted: It is easier to catch fish in muddy water. If somebody assumed at the time that by creating chaos, it will be easier for him to take a strategic position in the state structures, then in that case the plan had a logic behind it. But if someone is guided by the interest of the country and its citizens, then for that person the plan was irresponsible. A restructuring must be spread over time. It should be divided into two stages at the level of powiats and regions: The first special administrations should be dealt with and reordered in a territorial arrangement, and also the relationship between voivodes [local government officials] and the special administration should be reconsidered. Once we manage to resolve that problem, then we can begin asking the question as to whether there will be state authorities, or self-governmental ones, at the second level. And the answer could perhaps be that what we need there is self- government authorities.

[Czaczkowska] So in other words, you uphold what was defined in PSL's election program: A "Yes" to local self-governments—but as far as introducing a second self-government level (powiats) is concerned, that would be detrimental to the local level because of a decrease in its powers and financial means which would result then.

[Strak] If powiat self-governments were to be established at the expense of gmina self-governments, then of course we are against that because gmina self-governments are an established structure and asset, even though they have to keep maturing. Let us wait for the elections, let us see what kind of people will run, and what the results are. Right now there is a very sharp conflict going on within self-governments. Some activists propose that mayors and chief officers of groups of villages be elected in direct elections because—among others—these activists critically evaluate gmina councils.

[Czaczkowska] But one cannot implement a reform as strategic as this one on a personal basis.

[Strak] There will be no personal evaluations. What will matter is professionalism, skills, how many candidates there are for each position, and whether there is public interest in the elections. If it turns out that there is just one candidate per position in a large number of the regions, that will mean that there is no real public interest.

[Czaczkowska] What then—will it also mean that we do not need self-governments?

[Strak] Not at all. From a legal standpoint that does not mean anything, since self-governments exist now and will in the future. But what I said matters a great deal from the standpoint of assessing the self-governments' strength and the influence they exert over local communities.

[Czaczkowska] What is the political model of statehood that the governing coalition ultimately favors? What kind of a state should Poland be in two or four years' time?

[Strak] Regardless of how long the coalition will last, I would like it to leave a well-functioning state administration apparatus as its legacy, as well as well-functioning self- governments. It is not clear at this moment where the border between the two will lie: Will it be between gminas and regions, or between powiats and voivodships? If we recognize in principle that self-governments are more efficient than state administration, then we will be able to make a similar step forward in the area of state administration's functioning, while not impeding with

self- governments and even aiding them in their self-improvement. But I am not sure whether we will succeed in that.

[Czaczkowska] So if the direction of self-government reforms is to be decided "on the way," that means that the coalition still has no comprehensive or integrated vision of the state.

[Strak] No, we do have such a vision. It is based on an efficient central structure and good voivods—during the last four years they were stripped of their powers and became bare Christmas trees without ornaments—and it is also based on special administrations where the proper order would be implemented. It would be a great accomplishment if we succeeded in all that. We are also interested in self-governments.

[Czaczkowska] So will we be a country which tends to be centralized or decentralized?

[Strak] That distinction is really false. Poland's governments should be more efficient in two or four years. Apart from that, we would also like that the issue of the Senate, as a second self-government chamber, be resolved before the next parliamentary elections.

[Czaczkowska] Does the coalition intend to include new provisions on that in the new constitution?

[Strak] No, some measures may be carried through even now. If this is allowed by the law in force, we want the prime minister to relinquish to the Senate his powers regarding supervision over self- government appeal commissions. It is possible that the senators will run in the self-government elections so as to make it possible to transform the Senate into a self-government chamber after the elections are over. That is, if all the senators run in their own respective gminas....

[Czaczkowska] Those senators who are in the coalition may do so, but you cannot force all the others....

[Strak] That is their business. The coalition has over 70 senators, each of whom may become a council member in their gminas. This way the Senate could be transformed into a de facto self- government chamber, while fully observing the legal system in force.

[Czaczkowska] It could be so de facto, but not de iure.

[Strak] Yes, the Constitution and also the Senate Electoral Law, and so forth will have to be amended subsequently. Within a short time period, close cooperation between the Senate and self- governments will be possible.

[Czaczkowska] Will there be any changes in the way PSL functions after three of its main leaders left for the government—I mean yourself, the prime minister, and Mr. Luczak? Will there be a change in the post of chief of the PSL Sejm Deputies Club, which at least some deputies would like to see happen?

[Strak] There are different views on that issue. I think that we must first of all get past all the confusion associated with forming the government, followed by a return to the routine business of statutorily prescribed PSL bodies. The Chief Executive Committee [NKW] and the Chief Council's Presidium are already having their regular sessions. Once we reinstate routine business to our statutorily prescribed bodies, then we will manage to eliminate the impression that we sort of detached ourselves from the rank and file and that the flow of information is not sufficient—these are the main accusations being levied currently.

[Czaczkowska] Are there possibilities within PSL for coming up with new figures or even leaders? Roman Jagielinski said recently that these career roads are unavailable for the young.

[Strak] I am opposed to having leaders compete among themselves who are currently occupying posts or have done so in the past. I think new figures from a younger generation will emerge and I am sure there are some of them already within the hundred-plus Sejm deputies, but they need some time to exhibit their best qualities.

[Czaczkowska] And there will be nobody to interfere with them while they do it?

[Strak] No, and that is because there is a constant and as yet unsatisfied demand within PSL for people who are really somebody.

[Czaczkowska] You said that the activity of NKW and of the PSL Sejm Deputies Club will be made more efficient with you and your associates there. But is there not a danger here of PSL thus becoming a party attached to the government and of it being deprived of its independence in expressing party interests?

[Strak] There is always that danger, but I think the internal democracy within PSL is strong enough....

[Czaczkowska] Do you really think that? Some people disagree.

[Strak] No, no. We are aware of the fact that deputies' clubs are not a derivative of the government, but it is the government that is a consequence of what happens in the clubs, so the dependence is in the opposite direction. Of course the government will have some impact on positions or views adopted by those clubs which are in the coalition, but it is not the case—or ever will be—that we can do anything we want and everything will be approved.

[Czaczkowska] So, the PSL Sejm Deputies Club will not be used as a "voting machine" for this government?

[Strak] No, since we have to carry through the kind of politics which would be approved by the club's members.

[Czaczkowska] And not by the whole coalition?

[Strak] There are three parts which must act in concert: the government, the Sejm deputies club, and the social basis, that is to say the electorate. A deputies club cannot act arbitrarily—it must take the electorate's opinion into account. We cannot afford to act arbitrarily—we must take the club's opinion into account. But this three-part arrangement is all mutually tied-up, which means that the club cannot afford to be arbitrary toward the government, either. As long as the government enjoys the support of our social basis, then even if some leaders or deputies emerge in the club who would want to fight this government, they are bound to lose in the end. PSL has politicians and deputies within it who understand these relationships very well, and that is why we are such a stable party.

[Czaczkowska] According to Professor Kozakiewicz, these relationships will end during the debate on the budget, or after the self-government elections at the latest, which is when it will become clear that the government cannot keep all expectations by the electorate, for instance when it comes to financial means devoted to agricultural development. According to him, some disuniting forces will surface at that point.

[Strak] Unfortunately, Professor Kozakiewicz has been erring for a long time now concerning PSL's future prospects and fate. He refused to believe that there would be just one PSL created in 1991, that we would be successful in the elections, that a government would be formed, and so forth. I am somewhat sorry to say this but the fact remains that Professor Kozakiewicz's predictions regarding PSL generally prove false.

[Czaczkowska] But you yourself admitted during an interview that you could have problems with your own deputies' club when you said: "Our men already talk in terms of: Now this is our government, so why don't you do something for agriculture's sake."

[Strak] Yes, I did say that. There can be differences in evaluating what we are doing, for instance on whether not allowing meat imports is enough of an "action for the sake of agriculture." But nobody denies that the measure was both indispensable and beneficial. We can even have some very strong criticism, but in the final analysis it will be social support that will determine how this government is perceived. We can have arguments amongst ourselves on different issues. Nobody will undertake measures detrimental to the government if the countryside's assessment of us is positive. Regarding the countryside's attitudes toward the government, the Sejm deputies have a very simple way of finding that out—during meetings with the voters.

[Czaczkowska] So in your opinion there will be no disuniting forces within PSL emerging in the near future?

[Strak] That is correct.

[Czaczkowska] And PSL as a whole is all right?

[Strak] Yes, it is all right, which does not mean we are happy with everything.

Constitutional Committee Comments on Work

WS0912142693 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Dec 93 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Pilczynski: "The Basic Law—Anew"]

[Text] "Work on the new constitution must begin anew," was the conclusion of the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly, which convened its first working session on Wednesday, 8 December.

This means that the committee will only be able to treat the seven constitution bills submitted during the previous term of the parliament as auxiliary materials. In line with the Constitutional Law on the Manner of Drafting and Adopting the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, 9 November, that is, the day the committee was established, is the beginning of the six-month period for the submission of new bill.

The Constitutional Committee, whose session was devoted to the organization of work on the new constitution, dealt with three main subjects: what is the status of the seven bills submitted in the previous parliament; should the law on the manner of adopting the constitution be amended; and should the committee have new regulations concerning its work.

The committee agreed unanimously that there are no legal possibilities of continuing the constitutional work that started in the previous parliament. It was decided that in this case the parliamentary custom may be applied that uncompleted work is not continued in the new parliament; it can only be started anew. This custom has recently been confirmed by the Sejm when it was discussing the presidential veto of laws that had been passed by the previous parliament.

The main arguments that support the "zero option" is the new composition of the parliament and of the Constitutional Committee. Some bills, such as those submitted by the Center Accord [PC] and by the previous Senate, will not be supported by anyone. Such a course of action is also suggested by the wording of Article Two of the Law on Creating the Constitution.

Most of those who took the floor during the discussion argued that this law should not be amended. Shortening the period for submitting new bills would be only illusionary, because it would be impossible to amend the law in less than two or three months anyway. Over the next six months, ending on 9 May 1994, the Constitutional Committee could work on its own bill and get ready for the next stage of the constitutional work. Only Krzysztof Kaminski of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] did not share this view; in line with his proposal, the Law on the Manner of Adopting the Constitution should be amended in such a way as to take

over the seven bills submitted in the previous parliament—including the KPN bill. However, he disregarded the fact that the Constitutional Committee does not have the right to launch a legislative initiative on this issue, even though—which is very interesting—ordinary committees, the government, the president, and the Senate do have such a right.

In line with Article Two of the above-mentioned law, bills on a new constitution may be submitted by the committee, the president, and a group of 56 members of the National Assembly. We may, therefore, expect that the Polish Peasant Party, the Democratic Left Alliance, and the Democratic Union will submit their bills once again, even though they do not have to be the same bills. KPN cannot do this because it will not collect 56 signatures. Also the extra-parliamentary PC will not submit its bill. The Senate will probably not want to submit its bill as well. No one knows what the president will do.

It was stressed during the session that all seven bills, as well as the 11 bills submitted to the 10th parliament, containing all the possible constitutional solutions that can be taken into consideration, may be used by the committee in its work as auxiliary materials. A consequence of adopting the "zero option" would also be the committee's resolution to adopt its regulations once again. An eight-person subcommittee was set up to draft them.

Council of Ministers Holds Unscheduled Meeting

LD0912152993 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1422 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Dec—A brief meeting of the Council of Ministers was held this morning, Wieslaw Kaczmarek, minister for ownership transformations told PAP. Present at the meeting were only the prime minister and ministers, and it focused on the implementation in the Sejm of government decisions as agreed by the Council of Ministers. Kaczmarek disclosed that it concerned taxation laws.

According to other unofficial sources, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak also met Deputy Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz and Andrzej Milczanowski, the minister of internal affairs. They talked about the so-called container affair [arms for Ulster terrorists affair]. A statement on the affair by Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz was discussed. It is to be published by Friday [10 December] morning.

Ewa Wachowicz, the prime minister's press secretary, told PAP that Waldemar Pawlak had working meetings with several ministers, but she did not disclose with whom and what they were talking about.

The government press office did not confirm the news on the government meeting. It did not rule out that the Council of Ministers would meet on Friday.

Controversies in SLD, PSL Deputies Clubs

WS1012121693 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Jan Bazyl Lipszyc: "First Considerable Crack"]

[Text] After the Wednesday [8 December] sitting of the Sejm ended, the Deputies' Club of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] convened to hold night talks. They began their meeting at 2300 and finished at 0230; as we found out, the discussions were rather heated. The main bone of contention was the voting on amending the Law on Valorization Retirement and Disability Pensions. A party in the conflict was a group of deputies of the All-Polish Trade Union Agreement [OPZZ].

Deputy Wit Majewski, OPZZ deputy chairman, believes that the differences of opinions between OPZZ deputies and the rest of the club are unavoidable; however, they do not threaten the unity of the club. According to Deputy Majewski, this government should not be to blame for all the problems that must now be addressed. His statement suggested that the union deputies are trying to be rather mild; they want to give the government a chance to have a quiet start. However, when the next budget is discussed, they will express their opinions more vehemently.

"This is not yet a stage at which a more serious crack could appear in the club," we were told by OPZZ Chairperson Ewa Spychalska. "However, differences of opinions are increasingly clear, because it is the consequence of the fact that we, as union deputies, have rather different tasks to perform."

According to her, not all that Finance Minister Borowski presents as facts is equally obvious to OPZZ deputies; also, he proposes delaying certain activities which, in line with the coalition agreement, should be implemented now.

Ewa Spychalska said that "as a result, on the issue of valorization of retirement and disability pensions, OPZZ deputies will not vote the way the government wants them to vote and the way the rest of the club will vote. OPZZ simply insists that on the second date the pensions be valorized by 94 percent. The deputies will probably not vote against; instead, they will abstain."

According to Wit Majewski, the main conclusion that should be drawn from these night talks is that a couple of issues still need to be discussed: the model of the club's functioning, as well as relations among unionist deputies, the club, and OPZZ. Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the SLD Deputies' Club, would rather not attach great importance to the results of the night's discussion. He believes that only a few deputies will vote differently on valorization, taxes, and salaries for the budget sphere. The rest of the deputies are convinced that they should support the bills, which had been so difficult to negotiate.

"We do not depend on one vote. Therefore, we can afford the luxury of voting in line with our views," added Kwasniewski.

As it seems, the group of OPZZ deputies who are in its leadership, will maintain this uncompromising stand for another several months, until the trade union's congress in June. They apparently believe that without doing this, their chances of being reelected would shrink. This view is shared by Aleksander Kwasniewski, who says that this must be understood because such is the reality.

There were also unofficial discussions on the National Union of Radio and Television in the Sejm yesterday; the deputies wondered what tactics would be adopted by the governing coalition. Will it act on the president's advice and, since it may change the composition of the council, will it take six positions instead of two? Will it leave one to the Democratic Union, for instance? Or will it replace the council's members with nonpartisan experts? There are many possibilities; however, Aleksander Kwasniewski and Marek Siwiec, member of the council designated by SLD, after quite a long conversation, did not want to answer any questions.

During the break in the Sejm sitting, the Deputies' Club of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] attempted to adopt its regulations. However, the only thing that was agreed on was the number of press spokesmen: one common spokesman for the party and the club (this was the final decision), two separate spokesmen, or a third spokesman for the separate Senate Club of PSL. The results of the ballot did not satisfy Jacek Soska, a supporter of the club's having a separate spokesman. He pulled out a camera and started snapping pictures, yelling: Cowards! I will take photos of you as you vote, you little dogs of the party president! The rest of the discussion on the club's regulation was held on Thursday night and in the small hours of Friday.

Olechowski on NATO Initiative, Kozyrev Visit

LD0912215693 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Report on an "exclusive" interview with Polish Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski by an unidentified Czech Radio correspondent; place and date not given; Olechowski speaks in Polish fading into Czech translation—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Minister, you go to the United States of America next week. Prior to your departure you met today with Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec. How much did you discuss the question connected with the NATO "Partnership for Peace" initiative, as to the joint viewpoint of the Czech Republic and Poland?

[Olechowski] The most interesting point for us is international politics from the point of view of strategic questions. We devoted much time to it, but we did not discuss it excessively because we talked about this topic in Brussels and in Rome, where we had met. Our views are almost identical, essentially they are identical, which we demonstrated in our communique, which best reflects our viewpoints.

[Announcer] We went on to ask the Polish foreign minister: According to unofficial reports Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev will visit Warsaw next week to explain the attitude of Moscow to the entry of Central European countries to NATO. Can you add some details to this and, at the same time, react to the view that the talks between the West and Russia are described by many as the second Yalta?

[Olechowski] Things are always complicated as to such unofficial imformation. The truth is that we invited minister Kozyrev to visit Poland. During the talks with me in Rome he promised that he will try to find time for his visit after the elections. It is also, no doubt, true that if and when he comes we would like to find out from him, as from a person who is a democrat and whom we instinctively trust, why we keep hearing differing voices from Russia concerning the entry of Poland and Central Europe to NATO because, first, we hear from President Yeltsin in Warsaw what we wish for, what could be equated with our understanding of the situation in the world, but then we hear Mr. Primakov from Moscow—and that is what makes our hair stand on end. It seems to us that if Russia had to go in that direction we would not know what to do. That is why we would like to hear from Kozyrev what is involved.

[Announcer] In conclusion we asked Andrzej Olechowski the following: Polish media sometimes write that, thanks to the viewpoints of the Czech Republic, it is so far not possible to set up a united bloc of countries of the Visegrad Group with the aim of entering European structures. What is your view, and how do you assess the cooperation of the Visegrad Group?

[Olechowski] We are sorry that we cannot speak about these questions jointly as the Visegrad Group. We think that if this were the case our voice would be stronger, but we respect the arguments proposed by the Czech side. On no account do we want to oppose them. The most important thing is that the viewpoints should be similar as to content, and they are, as we said in the communique. It is a secondary matter whether or not they will be voiced in the end by one voice or four voices which will be identical.

Iliescu Condemns 'Hideous' Tiraspol Sentence

AU0912185693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1750 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/12/1993—In a statement issued this evening, the president of Romania, Ion Iliescu, vehemently condemns the sentence passed by the Tiraspol court in the case of the "Ilascu group." Further down follows the statement of the Romanian head of state:

"I am appalled at the news about the hideous sentence of the illegal court of Tiraspol, which has condemned Ilie Ilascu to death by shooting and his mates to long jail terms. What we and the international public opinion have watched with apprehension is the outcome of a gross frame-up that defies any jurisdiction. What is even more repulsive is the decision that the accused be deprived of any possibility of appeal. This aggravates the illegal and odious character of these sentences and of the juries that pronounced them. I wish to express, before anything else, my indignation for this premeditated murder planned by a an anachronistic and primitive regime. I hereby assume the responsibility of addressing all the international fora, all heads of state and request them to energetically intercede in order to save the lives of Ilie Ilascu and his companions, to stop this sentence from becoming fact. I deem that everything should be done to stop the murderous hand and cancel this hideous judicial frame-up," the statement of Romania's President Ion Iliescu says.

Appeals to Clinton, Yeltsin

AU1012112593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1029 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/12/1993—Romania's President Ion Iliescu addressed on 9 December a telegram to the president of the United States of America, William Jefferson Clinton, appreciating "the attachment of the American head of state to the values of democracy and human rights" and asking him to make use of his authority and act for the saving of the life of Ilie Ilascu, sentenced to death after the horrible mock trial in Tiraspol.

"With your gesture you would prove once again the praise that you and the American people are showing to life as supreme value," the telegram reads.

The same day, President Iliescu addressed a telegram to Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, once again asking him to make use of all his authority and influence to stay the unjust execution of the sentence passed against Ilie Ilascu during the mock trial in Tiraspol.

"You have distinguished yourself, Mr. President, as a protector of democracy and human rights and your gesture would gain genuine approval as a sign that human rights in this geopolitical space are starting to enjoy the due respect," the telegram reads.

Senate Asks For U.S. Intervention

AU0912210493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2000 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/12/1993—Romania's Senate addressed an appeal to the U.S. Senate Thursday, December 9, concerning the sentence the court in Tiraspol passed in the Ilascu trial. "Romania kindly asks America through us to prevent imperial totalitarian, arbitrary rule and international terrorism from instituting in the east of our continent," says the appeal. It expresses conviction that "your intervention, following this appeal will increase hope and make it sacred in this tormented east of Europe."

Appeal To All Governments

AU0912215093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] The statement issued by Romania's Government emphasizes that this cynical and criminal decision [Tiraspol sentence] defies the most elementary legal norms of justice and human ethics representing a real risk for the political and security situation in the area.

Romania's Government addresses an urgent appeal to all democratic governments, all international organizations, and to political leaders to immediately halt this tragic event.

The government expresses the hope that, at this decisive time, those who have engineered this sentence will reexamine the dictated decision with great care and responsibility.

At this crucial time, Romania's Government expresses its entire solidarity and full support for the Ilascu group of patriots, a genuine symbol of courage and dignity of the human being, and of courageous struggle for the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of their fatherland.

Melescanu Addresses Integration Meeting

AU0912110093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0820 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/12/1993—Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu presented on Wednesday, 8 December, during a meeting in Bucharest of the National Consultative Council for Euro-Atlantic Integration (CNCIE), the political-diplomatic dimension of Romania's integration within Euro-Atlantic structures.

Mr. Melescanu said that the Council's members were acting for Romania's integration within that structures. Further on, the Romanian foreign minister showed that the Euro-Atlantic integration was for the council a top priority as concerned Romania's foreign policy and that "peace partnership" was a main stage in view of Romania's integration within NATO structures.

He also pointed on the need for strategy of integration within West-European mechanisms and that Romania's admission into the Council of Europe was a precedent and a guarantee for the unfolding of that process. Teodor Melescanu considers that through concerted activities, the ministry of foreign affairs will enjoy all political support of the parties in Romania's Parliament.

As for Romania's image abroad, the Romanian head of diplomacy said that "it is further improving", mentioning however that a more favorable image of Romania was depending on the realities inside the country. "That image cannot be created through a better paid propaganda or drawn only on the image of certain individuals, as it was the case of the Ceausescu couple," the minister of foreign affairs said.

Letter of Intent, Memorandum Signed With IMF

AU0912165293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1141 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/12/1993—State Minister Florin Georgescu, minister of finance, and Mugur Isarescu, governor of National Bank of Romania, signed on December 9 at Victoria Palace two documents addressed to Michel Camdessus, director-general of the International Monetary Fund [IMF], which were handed over to Maxwell Watson, IMF chief negotiator in relations with Romania. The two documents are the letter of intent and the letter of forwarding the basic documents, (i.e. the letter of intent and the memorandum).

The letter of intent is actually a synthesis of the memorandum that comprises the targets of the economic and social policy of Romania's Government for the next 18 months covered by the stand-by agreement. Also, the letter of intent mentions the $680 million requested by the Romanian Government to reach the economic performance negotiated with the IMF. The signing of the documents also entail the release of the Sal [expansion unknown] by the World Bank.

Ministry: 'No Reason' for Meeting in Greece

AU0912190793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, today informed Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that a meeting will be held in Salonika, Greece, at 1200 on 12 December. However, B-H Press has learned in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina that the delegation of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be attending the talks scheduled to take place in Salonika on Sunday, 12 December.

No progress has been made since the last global talks at the meeting in Geneva nor has any progress been made at bilateral meetings. There is no progress on the issues concerning the Bosnian Krajina, east Bosnia, and Neum. Therefore, there is no reason to hold a meeting in Salonika. This was stated in a letter that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs sent to cochairmen David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg.

Sarajevo Authorities Oppose Continuing Talks

LD0912213693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2052 GMT 9 Dec 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, December 9 (TANJUG)—The Moslem authorities in Sarajevo refused to attend the [word indistinct] peace talks on the war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina to have been held in Greece Sunday [12 December], the Moslem Sarajevo government radio set out Thursday.

Citing a statement by the Moslem Foreign Ministry, the radio reports that the Moslem authorities loyal to radical leader Alija Izetbegovic sent a letter to the co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia informing them they would not attend a new round of the peace talks, as set out, as no progress had been made in the negotiations in Geneva and after Geneva, so that the Moslem side saw no reason for a meeting in the northern Greek city of Salonika.

The peace talks on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, shattered by a 20-month civil war between the local Moslems, Serbs and Croats, were interrupted last week over persistent Moslem insistence on territorial concessions from the Serbs and Croats. A possibility of a meeting was announced by the E.U. and Greece. They said the talks, following bilateral contact of the warring sides and the interested sides, could resume in Salonika Sunday. The co-chairmen, David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, currently in Belgrade, assessed Thursday afternoon that the time was not yet ripe for a new round of talks and stated the hope that after December 20 this would be feasible.

Serbs Reportedly Resume Shelling of Sarajevo

AU1012101093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] At 0700 this morning, chetniks from Dvor fired 82-mm mortars at the region in and around Sokolji. From the direction of (?Sucurfuc) in Vogosca, the chetniks used [word indistinct], tanks, and howitzers to fire on the region of Ugasko, Hotonje, and Hotonska Street. Four 60-mm shells also landed on Hotonje. Since the chetniks have lately been fiercely shelling the city and its suburbs, and that this activity intensifies at weekends, citizens are being warned to restrict their movement around the city as much as possible.

Sniper Fire Kills Eight

AU0912151993 Paris AFP in English 1507 GMT 9 Dec 93

(Text) Sarajevo, Dec 9 (AFP)—Shelling and sniper fire from besieging Bosnian Serbs killed eight people and wounded 16 in Sarajevo Thursday [9 December], hospital sources said. A mortar attack on a market in the western district of Cengic Vila killed four people and wounded four. The other casualties were from sniper fire in various parts of the Bosnian capital.

UN Spokesman: Sarajevo 'Unstable'

AU0912145593 Paris AFP in English 1234 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 9 (AFP)—Tensions in Sarajevo escalated overnight Wednesday [8 December] amid heavy fighting and troop movements in and around the capital, a UN spokesman said. After 24 hours of exchanges involving artillery, mortar, machine-gun and light weapons fire, the situation in Sarajevo had become unstable for the first time in many days, said UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Bill Aikman. "The last 24 hours have been very difficult and very tense," he added.

Bosnian Serb forces bombarded the capital with around 270 shells, with most falling on frontline areas, while the mainly-Moslem Bosnian army fired 46 shells, he added. Infantry clashes were also reported, Aikman said, adding that no details had yet emerged of any shifts in front lines. The worst of the fighting centred on the Serb-held southern Sarajevo district of Grbavica, he added.

Sarajevo Radio Rounds Up 8-9 December Fighting

AU0912131093

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian in 1100 GMT newscast on 9 December carries a number of reports on fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina yesterday.

A report by the Seven South Operative Group states that "what has been happening in Olovo and Teocak in the previous days has happened to a somewhat lesser extent

in the zone of responsibility of the Seven South Operative Group. Namely, in the last few days the aggressor has suffered considerable losses in manpower, especially in the southern part of the front, that is, on the line Maglaj-Crni Vrh. As the report concludes, "that is probably why the aggressor has cooled down on the offensive against the united free territories of Tesanj, Maglaj, Doboj, and Teslic in the last 24 hours. However, he has not given up his objective—to cut the Maglaj-Tesanj communication route and completely encircle Maglaj."

As the studio announcer says, "the Serbian aggressor has intensified considerably the activities on the Brcko battlefield in the last 24 hours. The defense lines were targeted. The aggressor's air force was again active on the Brcko battlefield. Four transport helicopters of the Serbian aggressor's army flew freely over Brcko territory. There have been provocations in the Gorazde area also, where they are expecting the arrival of a convoy of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR]."

Speaking about this convoy, an unidentified correspondent from Gorazde says "that according to the latest information of the representatives of the UNHCR and the International Red Cross Committee the convoys of these international humanitarian organizations are supposed to arrive in the town today. However, the latest reports speak that the chetniks in Rogatica would not allow the Canadian UN soldiers to provide an armed escort to the UNHCR convoy for Gorazde."

A dispatch from Mostar says that "although the combat activities were somewhat less intense in the last 24 hours, the ustasha forces have not been idle. They have continued the aggression against the free part of the Mostar commune." The dispatch reports "customary infantry provocations," "sniper fire," and "fire from 82-mm mortars" along the separating lines in the town center. It is reported that mortar attacks at the town "intensified especially in the early evening, when more than 50 large mortar bombs were fired at the town."

The announcer in the studio then goes on to say that "it has been relatively peaceful in the Bihac area with the exception of sporadic provocations." According to him, "the process of disarmament of paramilitary formations is running smoothly." Speaking of Sarajevo, he reports that "shortly after 0600 the aggressor opened fire from the direction of Dvor with 82-mm mortars at Mijatovica Kota." He says that four mortar bombs were fired at Sabanovici, while two grenades were fired at the elevation No. 665. "The aggressor in Velika Kula" opened fire from a death sower and a grenade launcher at Pasino Brdo and Sedrenik.

Fierce Croat-Moslem Fighting Continues in Mostar

LD1012000293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2348 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—One person was killed and eight wounded in the Moslem-held part of Mostar (southern Bosnia-Herzegovina) in a strong Moslem artillery attack on Thursday [9 December], Moslem Sarajevo Radio reported. Croatian Radio said that Moslem forces opened fierce fire on Croat-held parts of Mostar and mounted infantry assaults some 20 km north of the town. Bosnian Serb military sources also reported heavy Croat-Mostar fighting in Mostar.

In central Bosnia, Croat refugees from Kakanj and Bugojno sent an appeal to international organisations on Thursday, saying that over 500 of Bugojno's Bosnian Croats were held in prisons for the 4th months now and that 2,500 others were terrorized by Moslem troops in their homes. Croat witnesses, who escaped the town last month, told TANJUG's reporter in Srbobran (former Donji Vakuf) that all Croat residents of Bugojno wanted to leave the town, but were prevented to do so by Moslem authorities. The fighting between Croats and Moslems, the erstwhile allies against local Serbs, has raged through central and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina since early this year, with the two sides accusing each other of ethnic cleansing.

Muslims Reportedly Use Chemical Weapons

LD0912214893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2032 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Bratunac, December 9 (TANJUG)—Muslims continued attacks on the Serb settlements and positions of the Bosnian Serb Army [word indistinct] all fronts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, TANJUG correspondent has learned from the Bosnian Serb military source. [Word indistinct] the Muslim units loyal to the central Sarajevo government were active in Sarajevo, around Doboj, Teslic and Brcko (northern Bosnia), Olovo, Kladanj and Tuzla (central Bosnia), Bihac and Krupa (western Bosnia) and around Zvornik (eastern Bosnia).

The Muslims fired chemically-charged grenades on the Serb villages around Tuzla, while the Serb settlements in Sarajevo were [words indstinct] the target of Muslims' infantry, sniper, artillery and rifle grenade fire.

Around Doboj, the Muslim forces continued artillery and infantry attacks, while around Teslic they opened infantry fire and around Brcko, infantry and mortar fire. Strong artillery and infantry fire they opened on the positions of the Bosnian Serb army around Zvornik. The army of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, which has committed aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, opened fire from infantry and anti-aircraft weapons on the Serb villages around Orasje (northern Bosnia).

Dissatisfied with the size of the the territory they controlled ([word indistinct] somewhat over 10 percent) and the territorial concessions given them by the Bosnian Serbs and Croats (20 percent), the Bosnian Muslims were bent, prior to the [words indistinct] of the Geneva negotiations, on using military action in the field to expand the territories which would belong to the Muslim community in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Muslim Attacks on Serbs Reported

LD0812162993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1519 GMT 8 Dec 93

[Text] Pale, Dec 8 (TANJUG)—Muslim forces continued attacking Serb villages and positions in the central, northern and eastern parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina on Tuesday night [7 December] and Wednesday, while regular army units of the Republic of Croatia attacked Bosnian Serb positions and villages in the southern part of the former Yugoslav republic, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

Muslim troops used artillery and infantry weapons in the attacks on the Serb Sarajevo suburbs, and mortars, infantry weapons and snipers in the attacks on the areas of Doboj, Maglaj, Mount Ozren and the Trebava River valley in northern Bosnia, according to the same sources.

Bosnian Serb troops prevented the incursions of several Muslim terrorist-commando groups in eastern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb military sources said. According to the same sources, Muslim troops are being massed in the same area.

Regular army troops of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, which has carried out aggression on Bosnia-Herzegovina, opened fire from machine-guns and cannons on the area of the village of slivnica in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb military sources said and set out that the Serb side did not fire back respecting the ceasefire.

Alarm Sounded in Doboj as Army Launches Attack

AU0912151893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Report by Zoran Gurgurevic from Doboj]

[Text] The general alarm has been in force in Doboj since 1410, and mortars and shells from light rocket launchers are again raining down on the city and the suburbs of Lipac, Pridjel, Suvo Polje, and (?Josava). Doboj is being shelled from two directions; from Matuzici on the south, and Klokotnica on the east. The Tesanj and Gracanica Muslims are obeying Alija Izetbegovic's order and intensifying combat activities, without even sparing the civilians.

On the Mount Ozren front in the wider region of the village of Petrovo, a strong sabotage group has been intercepted. One of the saboteurs was killed and another arrested. As for the Maglaj front in the valley of the Bosna River, fierce clashes are under way in the region of Borik and Bandera, where heavy Muslim forces are attacking the Serbian positions. Heavy fighting is also under way on the Trebava, Doboj, and Teslic fronts.

Doboj Official Appeals For Aid for Starving

AU0912204893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Interview with Ahmet Alicic, president of the War Presidency of Doboj, by Mirudin Aldobasic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Aldobasic] The cry of the starving and sick population of the Doboj commune directed at the European and world public does not seem to be reaching the ears of those who matter. What are you doing in the War Presidency of Doboj to alleviate the people's suffering?

[Alicic] My regards to all the defenders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially the fighters of the Doboj brigades and the citizens of the Doboj commune, wherever they are.

The refugees and the local population of the free territory of Doboj are going through the most difficult period in this war. They have no food, electricity, fuel, or water. Only one humanitarian convoy has come to this area since the aggressor has encircled this territory. In the last seven months, our starving people were given 2 kg of flour per person. It is a miracle that the population has managed to survive at all. Children and the elderly are close to death. The wounded do not even have the most basic medicines.

In brief, because of malnutrition, the complete population will very soon start dying of trivial diseases. The airdrop operation, with which the urgently needed food is arriving, has not yielded the expected, not even the minimum results because of the lack of organization in the collection of packages. Despite our warnings, not even a single package has been parachuted above the free territory of Doboj. Therefore, the disgust of the people with the institutions that should have taken care of this is justified. [passage omitted]

Muslim Forces Reportedly Mobilizing in Bihac

AU0912161093 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] A new mobilization of all militarily capable Muslims is being carried out in the Bihac District so that fresh forces could be obtained for the units of Atif Dudakovic's 5th Corps [of the Bosnian Army], which means that Alija's [Izetbegovic's] followers are preparing a new offensive at the autonomous province of western Bosnia.

A conflict between Muslims loyal to Alija Izetbegovic and the Croats supporting Fikret Abdic broke out in the (Kralje) District in Bihac. There are casualties on both sides, ZBIA [Western Bosnian Information Agency] reports.

Serbs Deny Blocking Humanitarian Convoys

LD0912133393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1152 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—The information department of the 1st Krajina corps of the army of the republic of Srpska today denied accusations by the world media that the Serbian side had been blocking the movement of humanitarian convoys through its territory.

It is said in a statement, sent to TANJUG in Belgrade, that two days ago a Zenica-bound UNHCR convoy arrived in Banja Luka from Zagreb. An inspection of the load, carried out under an agreement, revealed that it contained oxygen-producing equipment and 22 oxygen bottles. Since no permission was either asked or granted to transport either the equipment or the bottles a request was made to have them unloaded and for the convoy to proceed in the direction of Zenica. The convoy escort refused to comply with the request and, as a result, the convoy has been stationary in Banja Luka for the last two days.

The second convoy arrived in Banja Luka from Zagreb two days ago on its way to Tuzla via Bijeljina. Officials escorting the convoy displayed arrogance and intolerance when they refused to allow the load to be inspected and opted to return to Zagreb rather than have the convoy checked. At the same time they accused the Serbs of blocking the convoy's passage.

The Frist Krajina Corps command stresses that in the period between 25 November and 8 December 28 UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] convoys were allowed to pass in the direction of both Serbian and Muslim municipalities. However, for unknown reasons 15 of these failed to appear in Banja Luka: 10 were bound for Serbian municipalities and five for the Muslims. Out of 10 convoys destined for Serbian municipalities seven never reached Banja Luka. Out of five convoys that reached Banja Luka and were bound for the Muslim side only one failed to reach its destination and had to return due to Muslim combat activities.

UNHCR's attitude to the Serbian side is best illustrated by the fact that for the third time and under the pretext of bad weather it has postponed the departure of a convoy carrying humanitarian aid for the Serbs in Jajce. At the same time Muslim-bound convoys have been passing through Jajce on the way to Travnik and Zenica despite bad weather. Convoys designated for the Serbian side inevitably arrive in Banja Luka with half of the shipment and vehicles missing.

There is no doubt that the UNHCR is not applying the same criteria when distributing aid and that its personnel are behaving contrary to all existing regulations and agreements while at the same time condemning Serbs, the statement says in conclusion.

German Red Cross Convoy Under Fire Near Mostar

LD0912174693 Hamburg DPA in German 1710 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Zagreb/Sarajevo (DPA)—An aid convoy of the German Red Cross came under fire today in an area north of Mostar, the Herzegovina provincial capital where Muslims and Croats are involved in fighting. None of the staff was seriously injured, the UN headquarters in Zagreb said. According to this information, the incident happened near the village of Dreznica, near the Bijela bridge over the Neretva River. According to the United Nations, rockets and machine guns were fired at the convoy. Initially, it was unclear which side was responsible for the incident. There was heavy fighting in this area recently between the Bosnian Croat militia and the Muslim-dominated Bosnian Army.

Institute Reports Casualties Figures For Week

AU0912130193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Herzegovina Health Institute reports that 62 people have been killed and (?293) injured in the previous week.

So far 410 patients from Sarajevo, or 31.25 percent of (?those proposed) have been sent for medical treatment outside the country.

The most endangered areas in our country continue to be Olovo, Gornji Vakuf, Teocak, Maglaj, and Mostar.

Izetbegovic Addresses Army Officers

AU0912203793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] In the organization of the General Staff of the Supreme Command, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency, today spoke to the officers of the 1st Corps of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In his inspired speech, Izetbegovic expressed joy for being among the officers and soldiers of our army, stressing that, in contrast to difficult and strenuous talks that he has to hold with representatives of the international community—who are responsible for the suffering of the people of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina—he enjoys holding all such talks. From numerous clear and far-reaching messages that are contained in President Izetbegovic's speech, we have singled out his statement that, with their dignity, courage, and determination, the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially the Bosniak Muslim people, have surprised Europe and the entire world, who expected a quick defeat and the destruction of the political and state-creating being of our people when the war broke out. Contrary to this, our people have expressed vitality and the ability to preserve their dignity.

In addition, as Alija Izetbegovic stressed, Europe and the world are surprised with the military and political dignity expressed by the Bosniaks in this war, because they expected the Bosniaks to commit crimes. What happened, in fact, was the exact opposite. Horrible and unprecedented acts of genocide were, in fact, committed by those who decided to physically destroy the Bosniak Muslims and erase all traces of their spirit and culture in this region because of their territorial aspirations. This war was primarily motivated by the wish to destroy (?one) nation. Conquering territories is a consequence of that wish.

The Bosniak Muslims have saved face because they did not terrorize people and the weak, nor have they been destroying [words indistinct]. In the continuation of the war, the Bosniaks will continue to save and will save face. Stressing some of the tasks on developing combat morale and political activities in the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, President Izetbegovic said that trust among people in the army ranks must be nurtured because the current course of the war has already shown that, in the deployment of people, it is not important who was what and who did what before the war. What is of importance is the current patriotic conduct of people. People should be valued according to how much they are actually motivated to fight the aggressor.

The war has demonstrated that the most ordinary people, people who do not speak big words, have contributed the most to our liberation struggle. As known, some individuals, who were full of big words, became the enemies of the Bosnian people. In connection with this, President Izetbegovic stressed that, in the political structure of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, one can clearly see two political forces: One is fighting for the preservation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the other is working against the interests of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its peoples.

From the point of view of direct interests of the Bosnia-Herzegovina people, this division is the only valid division. The establishment of peace will bring about all other finesses of political pluralism in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In his numerous clear messages concerning the responsibility of the command at all levels in the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic especially stressed the importance of [words indistinct] and families of the fighters, disabled, and particularly the killed fighters and martyrs [sehit]. He said that concern for people is best expressed through the professional preparation and execution of combat actions so that they could be carried out with the least possible casualties in our ranks.

Army General Rasim Delic spoke about the main tasks concerning the combat morale. A number of prominent scientific workers also spoke at the meeting. Among them were Professor Dr. Enes Pelivia, Professor Dr. Mustafa Imamovic, Professor Dr. Ismet Doutbasic, Professor Dr. Jusuf Zigaj, and Dr. Ismail Cekic.

Tudjman Accepts Invitation to Peace Talks

LD0912164793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, the cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, have sent an invitation to the Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to take part in the meeting scheduled for Sunday, 12 December, in Thessaloniki.

HINA news agency has learned from the president's office that President Tudjman accepted the invitation. The meeting, organized under the auspices of international mediators Owen and Stoltenberg, will also be attended by Slobodan Milosevic, Alija Izetbegovic, Mate Boban and Radovan Karadzic.

Babic Rejects 'Coexistence With Croatia'

LD0912204793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Knin, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Babic, leader of the Serb Democratic Party and candidate for president at the upcoming elections in the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today rejected every possibility of coexistence with Croatia in any form—autonomy, special status or anything along those lines. Our objective is the unification of all Serb lands, Babic stressed at a campaign rally in Knin.

Addressing several thousand party members, sympathizers and citizens in Stojan Jankovic Square, Babic came out in favor of peacefully resolving all disputed issues with Croatia—final demarcation and the establishment of borders, but not as the Croats would wish, he underlined, as well as the establishment of cooperation in all areas of mutual interest.

We have the right to national and political self-determination, to a state of our own—this right has been acknowledged to all other peoples on the territory of former Yugoslavia, Babic said.

Babic described the RSK presidential elections scheduled for Sunday (12 December) as another referendum of the Serb people in Krajina, and said that the electorate should vote for people who will know how to defend Krajina.

The elections should show that we are a democratic nation, that this land is ruled by law and not violence, as some tend to believe, talk and write, Babic said in conclusion.

Krajina Official Rejects Court Decision

LD0912214393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Knin, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Radomir Kuzet, minister of justice and administration of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], has told TANJUG that the decision by the Croatian Constitutional Court proclaiming the forthcoming elections in Krajina irregular and illegal cannot have any lasting consequences. Kuzet said that the decision by the Croatian Constitutional Court was used only to further "the strategy of deceiving and misleading their own people".

The fact is that the RSK has had its own constitutional and legal system for four years, that it exists as a state with all attributes of a state, and only its own constitutional court can pass a decision on the regularity and legality of the called elections, Kuzet stressed.

"Croatia's political leaders are aware of the danger hidden in holding parliamentary elections. Authorities that will be elected will have full legitimacy in Krajina and abroad; they will obtain the legitimacy of the people," Kuzet said, stressing that any request put forward by the authorities elected in this way will infallibly be seen as "a request and the will of the people who are behind the elected bodies".

Serbs, Croats Sign Cease-Fire in Sunja

LD0912214793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] A meeting between representatives of the Republic of Croatia and the local Serbs from the northern [UN] Protected Area was held in Moscenica near Sisak in the presence of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] senior officials. They confirmed that an agreement on ending hostilities along the front line in the Sunja area was reached and that direct phone lines would be established between the warring sides.

At the same time, the Serbian side rejected a proposal by Croatian Army representatives for both sides to reduce by half the number of troops along the line of separation.

Federal

Protest Held Outside German, U.S. Embassies

LD0912215393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2127 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, December 9 (TANJUG)—Protest rallies against the policy of the U.S. and Germany towards the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), and against, as set out by the demonstrators, the genocidal sanctions killing Serb children, were held outside the Belgrade embassies of Germany and the United States Thursday [9 December].

The protests were organized by non-governmental and non-partisan anti-racist society for truth and law "White Rose" and the society "Orthodox Unity-New Byzantium".

The U.N. Security Council imposed comprehensive and binding sanctions [words indistinct] the F.R.Y. in May 1992 over its alleged involvement in the civil war in the neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina. The brunt of the sanctions, twice tightened since, was being borne especially by the children, the elderly and the sick. The protesters observed a minute of silence in tribute to all the children which were killed or which have died in this war. The protesters chanted: "Sanctions Were Genocide", "Child-killers" and "Magnum Crimen" (big crime).

Addressing the protesters, writer Radomir Smiljanic said the German Government "was most to blame for fanning the civil war in the Former Yugoslavia, dictated Croatia's secession and was most vocal in imposing sanctions against the Serbian people."

Britain, U.S. Said To Block Gas Deliveries

LD0912235393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2326 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] New York, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—Britain and the United States have again obstructed the delivery of Russia's gas to Yugoslavia by claiming in the U.N. Sanctions Committee on Thursday [9 December] that Yugoslavia was using its fuel reserves for military needs, instead of for heating.

Gas from Russia was to help heat schools and hospitals in Yugoslavia which, apart from the hardships caused by the May 1992 U.N. sanctions, last month experienced one of the harshest early winters in 120 years.

Russia's U.N. Ambassador Yuliy Vorontsov urged the sanctions committee on Thursday to stop putting off the issue while innocent people were dying of cold and curable diseases. His appeal, however, elicited no response.

The committee refused to issue a permit for the export of a total of 132 million of cubic metres of gas per month (which are Yugoslavia's estimated needs) and asked Russian firms to submit separate permit applications for the delivery of gas to schools and hospitals in most need.

That this is only another bureaucratic game proves the fact that it is impossible to control the delivery of gas to a specific school or hospital in the "Balkan quagmire."

The British and U.S. stand was defied by committee members from Brazil, China and Venezuela, but Anglo Saxons prevailed in the consensus-based vote.

Diplomatic circles here say that the issue was the stage for political games and that no progress in that respect should be expected after Serbia's December 19 parliamentary elections.

Seselj Claims Socialists Halting Assembly Work

LD0912211393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), today accused the Serbian Socialist Party (SPS) and the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro (DPSC) of blocking the work of the Federal Assembly. In Seselj's opinion the postponement of the session of the Federal Assembly's Chamber (of Citizens) means that "the state of emergency practically already exists". [passage omitted]

Seselj "does not expect anything" from Milosevic's meeting with Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia, or from Milosevic's meeting with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. According to Seselj, "It has always been more difficult for us every time Milosevic was 'successful.'" The radical leader described as "suspicious" the latest workers' strikes in Belgrade and believed that "socialists are involved in this." [passage omitted]

Dragan Todorovic, president of the SRS City Committee for Belgrade, said that the radicals were the first party during the election campaign to inform the citizens about the SRS program through circulating 15,000 letters to Belgrade addresses selected at random. The reason for this, the SRS say, is "to bypass the blockade of the SRS by the state media, since only a fully-informed citizen can reach a fair decision."

FRY To Refute UN Human Rights Charges

LD0912215793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1952 GMT 9 Dec 93

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Minister of Human and Minority Rights Margit Savovic on Thursday [9 December] said the biased U.N. resolution on the state of human rights on the territory of the former Yugoslavia was part of an ugly anti-Yugoslav and anti-Serb campaign, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia would use arguments to refute the allegations presented in it.

The most likely goal of the campaign is not to permit in any way the announced possibility of the easing or lifting of the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia, Savovic said on Radio Jagodina. Savovic said the resolution, adopted by the U.N. general Assembly Committee for Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Questions, was biased and it accused only the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Serbs for human and minority rights violations, while timidly mentioning the other sides, only to a degree necessary to make it seem that the document was allegedly balanced and objective.

The U.N. Security Council in late May 1992 introduced comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against Yugoslavia because of its alleged involvement in the war fought by the Muslims, Serbs and Croats in neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina. The sanctions have been tightened twice since. Savovic set out that crimes and human rights violations by the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia, which forcibly seceded, were heavily minimized to make it appear that it was unnecessary for the international community to devote any attention to them, and the human rights violations by Bosnian Muslims were not mentioned at all.

The Yugoslav minister of human and minority rights said the U.N. resolution was based on the reports of special U.N. human rights rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who did not spend much time on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia but allegedly found evidence of horrendous crimes and human rights violations, which none of the many delegations which had stayed in Yugoslavia for long, not even the so-called long-term CSCE mission, had been able to find.

If it is borne in mind that Austria, Albania, Hungary, Croatia and Slovenia, another former Yugoslav republic which forcibly seceded, had taken the most active part in the passage of the resolution, it is no wonder that the resolution has been adopted in its current form, Savovic said.

Savovic said that Albania had prepared a separate draft resolution on the state of human rights in Kosovo and Metohija, the southern province in the Yugoslav republic of Serbia, but that the draft was not adopted "because it would have made evident Albania's full involvement in the instigation of ethnic-Albanians to revolt."

However, in order not to leave the issue aside, a formulation about the alleged flagrant violations of the rights of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija was introduced in the text of the adopted resolution, Savovic said and set out that the presented allegations had in no way been proved.

A strong ethnic-Albanian separatist movement has been active in Kosovo and Metohija for decades. The movement's leaders have organized an illegal proclamation of the "Republic of Kosovo" with a view to having Kosovo and Metohija break away from Serbia and Yugoslavia and join neighbouring Albania. The secessionists have had the support of Albania.

Commenting the request for the CSCE mission to return to Kosovo and Metohija, Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, and its south-western region of Raska (Sandzak), allegedly in order to prevent the outbreak of a conflict, Savovic said there was no reason for the mission to return. She said the disaster predicted by the CSCE mission had not taken place, although the mission had left in June this year.

Savovic said no other disaster had occurred except for the one caused by the draconic U.N. sanctions. The minister said the CSCE mission had not been expelled from Yugoslavia, as it was alleged, but its mandate had expired. Savovic said there was no obstacle standing in the way of the mission returning to Yugoslavia on condition Yugoslavia was readmitted to international forums. Yugoslavia was denied participation in the work of the CSCE in July 1992 and in the work of the United Nations in September of that same year.

Doctor: Sanctions Hit Sick Children Hardest

LD0912205293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2010 GMT 9 Dec 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, December 9 (TANJUG)—It is very hard to explain to handicapped children just why, under the burden of unjust sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), was there insufficiant food and medicaments, why were the hospital rooms not warm enough, why was hydrotherapy discontinued, said Belgrade's specialized children's hospital head Dr Saksida Grlica Thursday [9 December].

The sanctions against the F.R.Y. were imposed by the U.N. Security Council in May last year, and subsequently tightened on two occasions, over its alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The therapy was being rendered difficult by numerous problems such as lack of medication and components for orthopaedic aids, followed by the fact that the apparatus was outdated and often out of order...

"The international organizations which were our cofounders, and which helped us for many years, now seem to have forgotten us," Dr Grlica told a news conference. "We try to get by thanks to the humanitarian aid, but we must admit that this too was slowing down." The problem was in that these children were bed-ridden and thus exposed to frequent infections for the treatment of which the hospital has insufficient quantity of antibiotics and other necessary medical equipment for specific care of this type of patients.

Serbia

United Left Coalition Outlines Election Program

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[Text] Belgrade, 9 Dec (TANJUG)—The United Left—comprising the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [Savez Komunista-Pokret za Jugoslaviju]; the Union of Workers of Serbia [Savez Radnika Srbije], the Popular Front [Narodni Front], and the Youth Alliance [Omladinski Savez]—will contest the 19 December elections with the commitment that the Serbian people outside Serbia must be supported both materially and morally and its representatives encouraged to work toward a genuine peace which serves Serbian interests both outside and in Serbia.

As a way of achieving economic stabilization, the United Left favors nationalization of property obtained through war profiteering and property obtained illegally. It advocates strict monitoring of the privatization process, regulations for and control of the work of private banks as a way of ending financial chaos in the country, and strict legal measures against smugglers.

The United Left will insist on a ban on all parties whose programs and activities foment national, religious, or ideological hatred. In an effort to overcome social differences, the United Left advocates public works as a way of increasing employment; it wants private sector regulated, free health care and education, adequate wages and pensions. The United Left insists on all refugees being given equal status and all able-bodied men from Serb Krajina [in Croatia] and the republic of Srpska to be sent back there.

Macedonia

PDP Elects New Provisional Leadership

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[Unattributed report: "Closed Session of the PDP Central Assembly"]

[Text] At yesterday's closed session in Gostivar, the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] Central Assembly elected a new provisional party leadership.

According to Menduh Taci, head of the Tetovo branch of PDP and most probably the new leader of the new newly elected leadership, the newly elected body is called "Provisional Executive Committee."

The committee has been elected for an indefinite time and will manage the party starting from the next session of the Central Assembly.

Otherwise, the PDP parliamentary group, the ministers and deputy ministers of the party, and the Council for the Organizing of the PDP Congress, regard the Gostivar session and the adopted decisions as illegitimate, while the Albanian state agency ATA came out in support of this session.

Today's VECER comments that following yesterday's event, with the gaining of the vacant party throne, the rival wing, led by Taci, began a news and "risky" political initiative.

Montenegro

Opposition Criticizes 'Silent Ethnic Cleansing'

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[Report by correspondent Dino Ramovic from Podgorica]

[Text] Montenegro has become the stage for a nazi-style project of creating an ethnically pure state according to the one-state/one-nation/one-leader concept, carried out by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Leaders of the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro said this at a news conference today, pointing to examples of so-called silent ethnic cleansing. The most threatened group are Orthodox Montenegrins who are denied the right to their own state, nation, and religion. Because of a lack of security and their fears, Muslims are moving out of the north of Montenegro, while Croats are moving out of the south, that is, Kotor Bay.

Figures were released for the first time today showing that 250 Croat families left Tivat over the past year. A further exodus of Croats from Kotor Bay is being prepared with the help of the latest pressures and the situation created after the infiltration of informers from Niksic, Pale, Mostar, and Belgrade.

It was said today that the Liberal Alliance will initiate a discussion on these issues in the republic's parliament. The Alliance called on all those planning to move away to stay in order to fight for a democratic Montenegro.

The Social-Democratic Party of Montenegro described the situation in Tivat and the Serbian blockade of goods for Montenegro, as well as the formation of paramilitary organizations, as the reappearance of fascism in the so-called Yugoslavia. The party leaders believe that most of these actions are directed toward undermining Montenegro by those who are abusing the name of Yugoslavia in an attempt to form a pure Serbian state.